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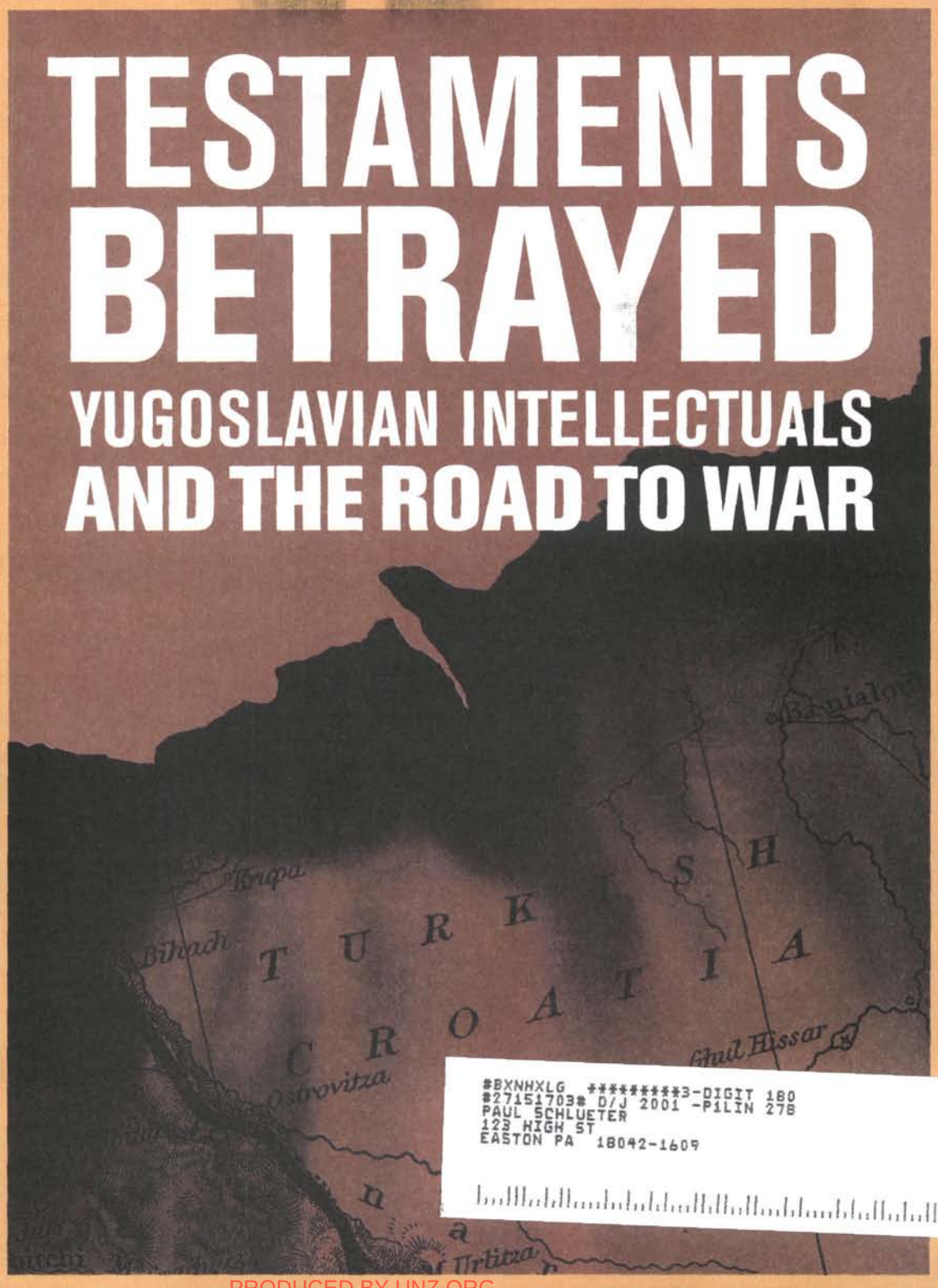

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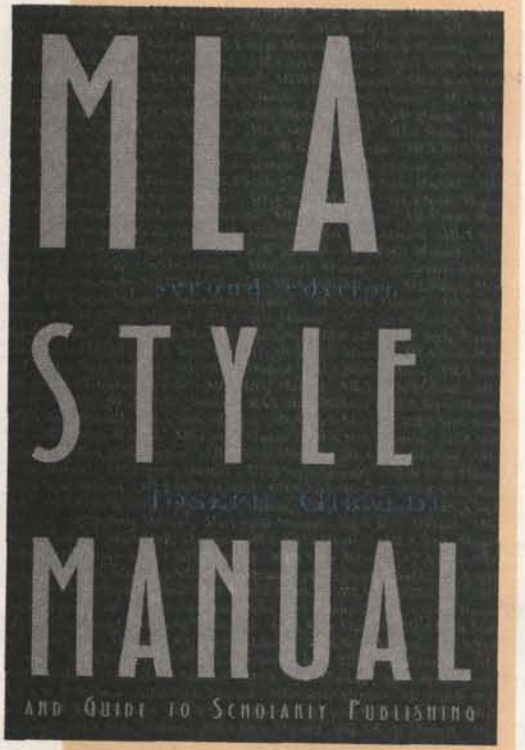

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2nd edition

Joseph Gibaldi

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by Herbert Lindenberger

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Since its publication in 1985, the *MLA Style Manual* has been the standard guide for graduate students, teachers, and scholars in the humanities and for professional writers in many fields. The book has sold more than 90,000 copies. Extensively reorganized and revised, this second edition contains several added sections and updated guidelines on citing electronic works—including sources from the Internet.

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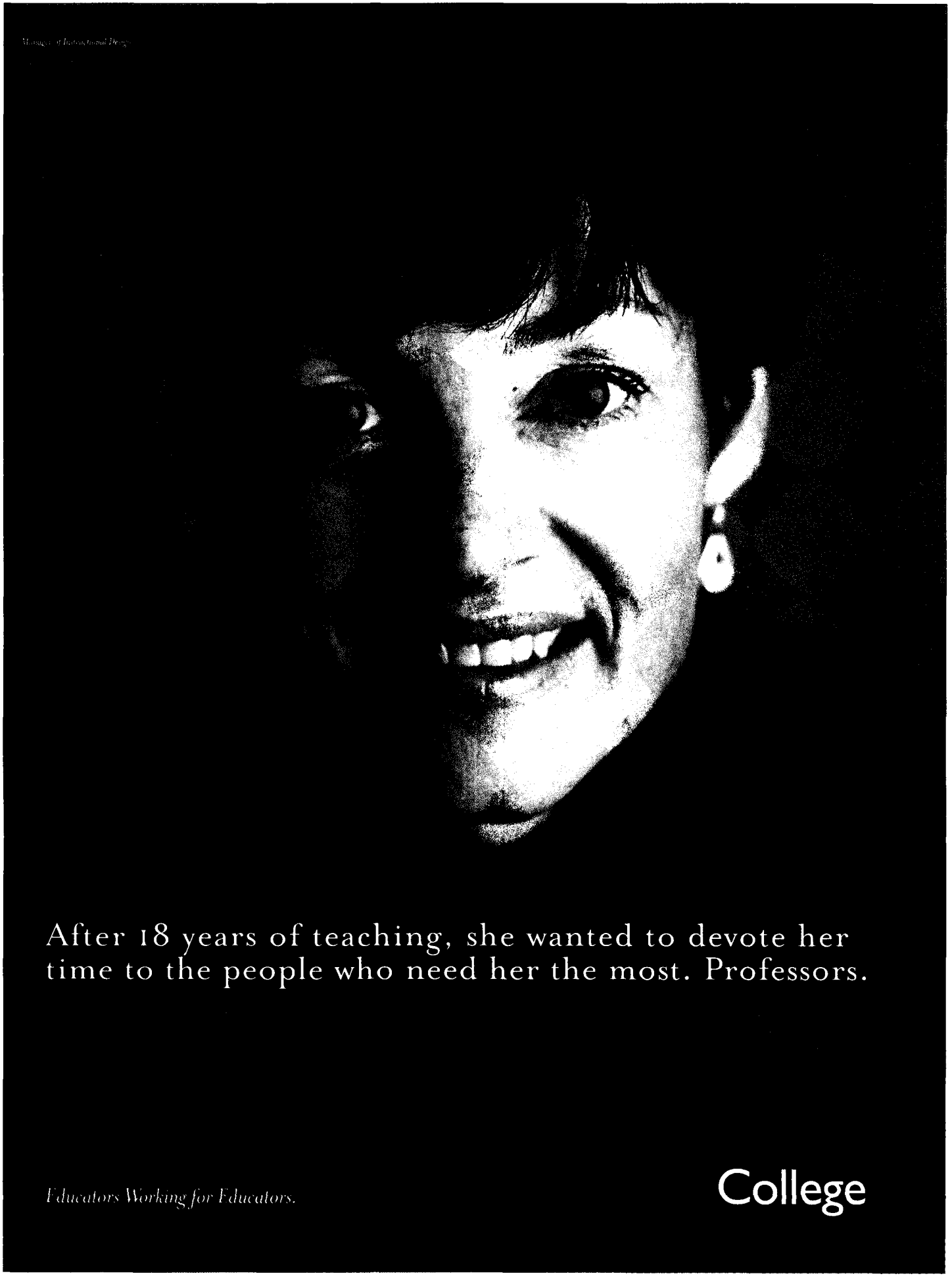
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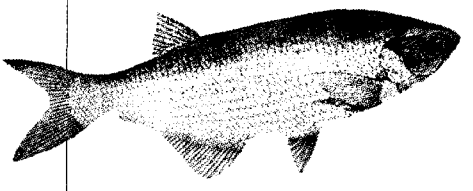
A mixed language or jargon used in the Levant, consisting largely of Italian words deprived of their inflexions. Also transf. Any mixed jargon formed as a medium of intercourse between people speaking different languages. Fig. 1870 LOWELL, Among my bks. *Ser. I. 170 "What concern have we with the shades of dialect in Homer or Theocritus, provided they speak the spiritual lingua franca that abolishes all alienage of race?"*



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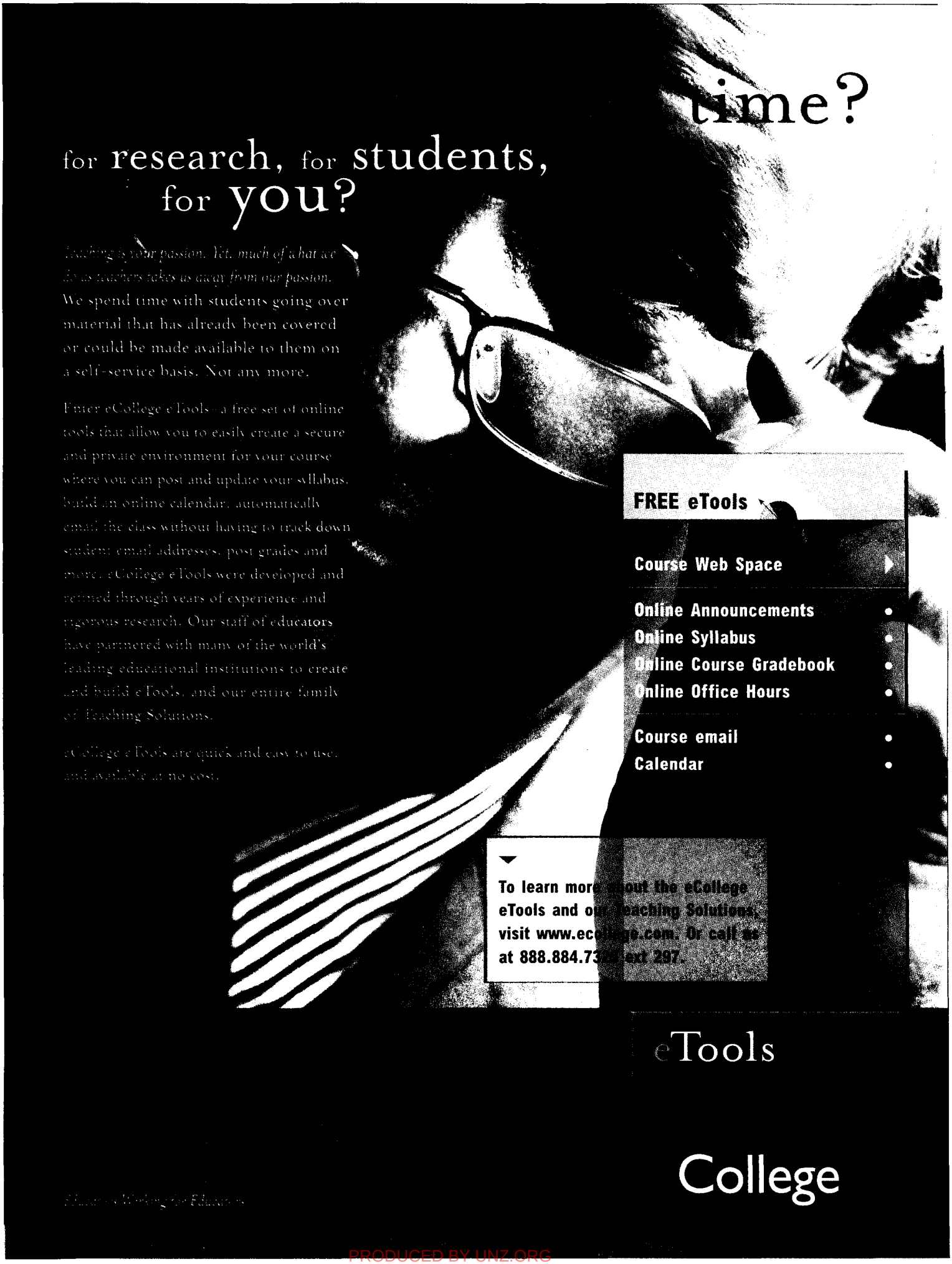
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DIVINE LOGIC

I read with interest Jim Holt's article on Padre Pio's stigmata [Hypotheses, May/June]. One does not have to water down a definition of "miracle" to accept psychogenic afflictions as miraculous. Augustine argues that a miracle is not contrary to nature but contrary to what we know of nature. A god who created the world would know its inner workings more intimately than any human; such a god could use that knowledge to create a naturally explicable, but still divinely significant, event.

Given this sort of argument, scientists immediately reach for Occam's razor—arguing, for instance, that if a natural explanation appears to exist for stigmata, there is no need to propose a supernatural one. But believers can quite easily claim that a naturally occurring phenomenon (if the psychogenic explanation holds as such) in a context of faith is miraculous.

BRIAN MCFADDEN
Professor of English
University of Notre Dame

LIFE OF BRIAN

May I offer two corrections to "Leiter Fluid" [Field Notes, July/August]? First, my areas of specialization include Continental philosophy, as a dissertation on Nietzsche and more than a dozen publications in the area might suggest. By failing to report that fact, you contribute to the fraud that the Society for Phenomenology and Existential Philosophy (SPEP) would like to perpetrate on the intellectual community: namely, that it is they who speak for Continental philosophy in the United States. They do not. Most of the leading scholars of Continental philosophy—teaching at places like Yale, Princeton, Chicago, Illinois, Texas, Cornell, Oxford, Cambridge, and various University of California campuses—simply have nothing to do with SPEP. SPEP would like to cast the issue in terms of analytic versus Continental philosophy, but that's not what it is. It's about the quality of philosophical work and scholarship, with SPEP representing the decidedly weak end of the spectrum. But you needn't take my word for it. Readers can go look at how Stony Brook and Penn State fared in the 1995 National Research Council ranking of graduate programs.

Second, it is clearly false to say that "traditionally analytic presses, like MIT and Oxford's Clarendon imprint, routinely approve books by Continental philosophers from schools like Stony Brook."

Thus, your suggestion that "not all of Leiter's colleagues" agree with my comments about certain kinds of scholarship on continental philosophy is without support.

BRIAN LEITER
Professor of Law and Philosophy
University of Texas at Austin

Brian Leiter should turn his analytic acumen on himself. Perhaps then he could explain to the rest of us why it is not a contradiction to hold both that analytic techniques can separate the (presumably valid) insights of Continental philosophers from their literary flourishes and that philosophers have good reason "not to take that Continental stuff seriously at all."

Mr. Leiter's muddles make one long for the days when Rudolf Carnap and Bertrand Russell defended their exclusion of everybody but themselves from philosophy with brilliant rhetoric and clear (if wrong) arguments. If today's analytic philosophers can't do any better than this, their approach hardly deserves to count as philosophical. This, I suspect, is how a paradigm ends: not with a whimper but with bombast.

JOHN MCCUMBER
Professor of Philosophy
Northwestern University

CONTAINING MULTITUDES

In "The Premise Keepers" [Hypotheses, July/August 1998], Jim Holt invokes Bertrand Russell and W. V. Quine to explain why it is irrational to hold two contradictory beliefs. I used to think so, too. But then I noticed the following phenomenon. Even well-educated people, when shown a hidden contradiction between two views they hold, rarely do the logically correct thing and give up one view. For

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DONNYBROOK AT STONY BROOK

English professors at a SUNY campus debate the definition of "job offer."

YOU'VE RESPONDED TO THE job ad. You've survived a battery of interviews. The chairman calls you up and says his colleagues have voted to hire you.

Is that what is known as a job offer?

It all depends on how you define "offer." Two factions in the English department at the State University of New York at Stony Brook have been squaring off over this semantic question since the spring. What's at stake, say some of the combatants, with just a touch of melodrama, is nothing less than the future of English at Stony Brook—not to mention the reputation of the university.

In March, the queer theorist Lee Edelman, who had been brought in the previous year from Tufts University to serve as chairman of the troubled department, called Modhumita Roy, a specialist in postcolonial literature at Tufts, to say the department wanted her. She had come up a winner in a search that attracted some 1,160 applicants. In a series of conversations, the two nailed down a salary and moving expenses and had only the timing of a sabbatical left to negotiate. In mid-April, however, when Roy called to put the finishing touches on the deal, an embarrassed Edelman had to tell her that Stony Brook's president, Shirley Strum Kenny, had pulled the plug on Roy and placed a moratorium on the department's other searches.

What happened? The president has declined to go into the details, but there were, it seems, two big issues at stake. First, in late March, Edelman had announced that he was heading back to Tufts, throwing a wrench into the master plan for rebuilding the department. Second, opposition to Roy's candidacy, simmering all year, swelled into an angry chorus as the actual hiring drew near. Critics charged that Roy, herself a Stony Brook Ph.D. and the wife of Michael Sprinker (a nationally prominent Marxist critic and professor in the school's comparative literature department) was the beneficiary of favoritism.

By now, everyone connected with the department appears to have taken a stance for or against Roy. Edelman called the revocation of Roy's offer "immoral and unethical." And Sprinker has taken an unpaid leave of absence for the fall and threatens to resign if the offer to his wife is not reinstated. Graduate students, concerned about the possible loss of Sprinker as well as about the treatment of Roy, did their bit as well, staging a sit-in at the president's office. Literature scholars from California to Calcutta have also registered complaints. Meanwhile, the anti-Roy group says Sprinker is acting like a spoiled academic star. "I don't think he does his wife's cause any good by tying her position to his own contribution," says Joaquín Martinez Pizarro, a member of the English department. "It makes the whole thing look like a camouflaged spousal hiring."

In response to the departmental unrest, the administration issued a statement that seemed vaguely Orwellian: There had been no job offer in the first place, only "informal discussions."

"That put me in a very, very awkward position at Tufts," says Roy, whose first book, *The Sun Never Sets: Imperial Ideologies and Indo-British Fiction,* is under contract with Manchester University Press. "I was indeed asked by my chairman what that statement meant—it created awkwardness all around." She says she had already told Tufts that she had a live offer on the table.

Everyone agrees that when he arrived at Stony Brook last fall, with a mandate to rebuild the English department, Lee Edelman faced a challenging

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assignment. The department's members have long battled over the role of cultural studies and other extraliterary subjects in the curriculum. Edelman, the author of *Homographesis: Essays in Gay Literary and Cultural Theory* (Routledge, 1994) as well as a study of Hart Crane, had been wooed with a hefty $114,000 salary and a visiting professorship in the comparative literature department for his partner, Joseph Litvak, who had been teaching at Bowdoin College. He was also promised between nine and twelve new faculty lines over three years.

After the department advertised three new positions, Edelman appointed a search committee. The group selected twenty-four candidates to be interviewed at the Modern Language Association (MLA) meeting. The grumbling started almost immediately. Some people thought that despite an uncontroversial system for voting on applications, certain candidates were getting unearned boosts. None more than Roy, in their view: Two members of the search panel had been on her dissertation committee, while others knew her through her connection to Sprinker (who had been her adviser). "I don't think anyone would have looked twice at her application unless she was who she was," one English professor says.

When six finalists were selected after the MLA interviews, Roy was named as an alternate. Opposition to her candidacy solidified only after five candidates turned down offers. At this point, Roy stepped to the front of the line for a professorship.

The pro-Roy faction has accused President Kenny of being swayed by the unscrupulous actions of Roy's detractors—thus undermining a democratic search. The faction that opposed Roy, however, argues that the search process was tainted by favoritism from the start. And it was a colossal error in judgment, they say, for Edelman to continue to negotiate departmental job offers once he had handed in his letter of resignation as chair.

Edelman calls the charge of preferential treatment "absolutely and utterly false." He insists that a list of candidates was approved by majority vote at each step of the way. He also stresses that Roy, although a "first-rate scholar," got an offer only after five people had turned Stony Brook down. If that was a rigged search, in other words, it was an awfully indirect one, requiring an absurd quotient of luck.

Edelman's supporters also point to a couple of fraternity-style pranks that undermine their opponents' credibility. One involved an anonymous flyer attacking Roy's candidacy that appeared in mailboxes on campus last spring. The flyer mentioned her grade point average during her grad student days at Stony Brook—a violation of federal laws that ensure the privacy of student records. Paul Dolan, a member of the English department, admitted writing the memo, but says one of the handful of people he showed it to must have distributed it without his knowledge. Meanwhile, the right-wing *New York Post* wrote a hostile send-off to Edelman when he resigned—an editorial that quoted some of his article titles, such as "Piss Elegant: Freud, Hitchcock, and the Micturating Penis," and posed the question, "What kind of system is it that hires such academic charlatans in the first place?" Someone sent copies of the *Post*'s editorial to Edelman's colleagues at Tufts, with the return address given—falsely—as that of two of Edelman's Stony Brook allies.

That the Stony Brook administration may have lent an ear to people who would stoop to such stunts has enraged Roy's supporters, including Timothy Brennan, a postcolonialist scholar who left the department for the University of Minnesota last year. In a letter to Kenny, Brennan wrote, "Some of your very best faculty members...have either decided to leave or are contemplating leaving because of the climate created by a small group of individuals in the English department who are, for the most part, unproductive as scholars, unaware of developments in the profession, and inactive as contributing members of the university community." And Edelman attributes anti-Roy sentiment to a "will to chaos" on the part of professors who are deeply embittered

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toward their profession. They, in turn, accuse him of using his stint at Stony Brook simply to enhance his leverage with Tufts (which offered Litvak a job this year).

At this point, the department has little choice but to start over. The university, in fact, has appointed an interim chair from the philosophy department and is getting ready to place another recruitment ad for the hot seat of permanent chair.

No word yet on when the advertisement for in-house psychologist will appear.

CHRISTOPHER SHEA

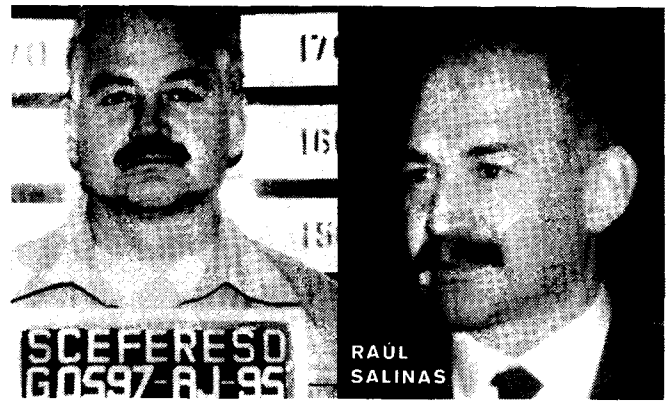
MY BROTHER'S KEEPER

IN WHAT *THE NEW YORK TIMES* reported as "the most important criminal verdict in modern Mexico," Raúl Salinas, the brother of former president Carlos Salinas, was sentenced on January 21 to fifty years' imprisonment for the 1994 murder of a high-ranking member of Mexico's ruling party. Until his January conviction, Salinas had been confined to a maximum-security prison outside Mexico City, a stark contrast, no doubt, to the pristine surroundings he enjoyed in 1992–1993 as a guest scholar at the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California at San Diego, the nation's leading outpost for academic research on Mexico.

In the wake of Raúl Salinas's murder conviction, some scholars are debating whether or not the center—and its founding director, Wayne Cornelius—acted appropriately in accepting him as a guest scholar. At issue is how Salinas, a civil engineer who accumulated $97 million in Swiss bank accounts and left a long trail of corruption and chicanery during his brother's regime (1988–1994), came to rub shoulders with leading academic specialists on Mexican affairs. The critics' theory is simple: By 1992, pervasive rumors and press accounts concerning Raúl's ties to crooked businessmen and narco traffickers made him a serious political liability for his brother. Hence his exile to beachfront La Jolla.

In 1992, Cornelius, a well-known expert on Mexican politics and an old friend and mentor of Carlos Salinas, agreed to accept Raúl as an unpaid guest scholar at the center. Defending his decision today, Cornelius explains via email that Salinas "(A) proposed a bona fide research project that was directly relevant to one of the center's principal research priorities at the time...(B) possessed professional credentials and experience relevant to the proposed project...and (C) had the resources necessary to carry out the proposed project, with no financial support from the center." According to Cornelius, all researchers who met these criteria were awarded guest-researcher status at the center—as long as office space was available.

On the question of whether he knew he was hosting a crook, Cornelius is more equivocal. "I had seen a couple of media references to criticisms being made in Mexico of Raúl's private business dealings," he affirms, but "they seemed to be no more serious than the accusations routinely made against members of an incumbent Mexican president's family."



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Still, Cornelius was concerned enough about Raúl's prospective presence to consult with several "highly respected, politically independent academics" in Mexico about the decision. With one exception, his advisers told him that he had "no alternative but to accept Raúl's application, strictly on grounds of academic freedom."

At the center, however, Raúl's candidacy was controversial. "I very strongly expressed the opinion that Raúl should not be invited to the center," says Gabriel Székely, who served as associate director of the center from 1986 to 1991 and is now a journalist and consultant in Mexico City. Raúl came anyway.

Then, in December 1992, a leading Mexican intellectual, Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, paid a visit to La Jolla. In a lunchtime conversation on the center's front patio, with Raúl sitting a short distance away, Aguilar Zinser says he informed Cornelius's associate director that prominent businessmen in the industrial city of Monterrey, where Raúl had lived, had lodged complaints with President Salinas about his brother's abusive business practices. Aguilar Zinser, who is now a senator renowned for his anticorruption efforts, expressed his astonishment that the center had accepted Raúl, and he predicted that the guest scholar would wind up in jail.

However imprudent in retrospect, Raúl's presence in La Jolla was no accident. The relationship between Cornelius and Carlos Salinas dates back to the late 1970s, when Cornelius was teaching political science at MIT and Carlos was earning a doctorate in political economy at Harvard. Thanks to cross-registration privileges between the two institutions, Salinas was able to take Cornelius's courses at MIT. Over the years, Cornelius, a regular commentator on Mexico for *The Los Angeles Times*, did his part to advance the political fortunes of his former student. In October 1987, shortly after Salinas was declared the Mexican ruling party's presidential candidate, Cornelius penned an Op-Ed piece for the L.A. *Times* hailing "his superior intelligence, a prodigiously high energy level and a reputation untainted by corruption." The favor did not go unreturned: In 1991, according to *The New York Times*, the Mexican president attended a luncheon in San Diego that raised $87,500 for the center (most of whose budget comes from private foundations and UCSD).

Cornelius insists that Carlos Salinas "played no role" in the center's decision to accept Raúl

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and that "Raúl made application directly to me." In so doing, Raúl was able to benefit from the center's dual admissions systems. Visiting fellows had to be approved by committee, while, "guest scholar" was a status reserved for individuals approved direcly by Cornelius.

Nevertheless, even critics agree that Raúl received no special treatment. Moreover, his résumé was not undistinguished. He had been a professor of engineering and economics at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, a construction company executive, and the occupant of several high-ranking government posts. (He was also a man of letters, having published two volumes of short stories along with a collection of love poems.) "He was a friendly, affable fellow," says Stanford historian Stephen Haber, who was a visiting research fellow the same year. "At the time, I took him seriously as a scholar."

And, like a dutiful scholar, he got his work done. Much of his time was spent in the border state of Coahuila, where he was said to be doing fieldwork. The result of his labor was an oral report to the center's staff and a fifty-three-page working paper (co-authored with José Luis Solís González, a visiting research fellow) titled "Rural Reform in Mexico: The View From the Comarca Lagunera in 1993"; the paper was subsequently published by the center in its Transformation of Rural Mexico series.

The working paper summarizes a massive government survey of peasant opinion on the agrarian policy implemented by the Salinas administration, a policy designed to bring market-oriented reforms to the countryside. In particular, those reforms granted campesinos the right to buy and sell land previously considered communal property under the *ejido* (cooperative farming) system established by a populist regime in the 1930s. Some scholars have since wondered how much labor Raúl actually contributed to the report. "I would argue it was Solís who did most of the work," says Székely. "Given what we know about how active Raúl was in so many other things at the time, I wouldn't be surprised if he simply cosigned the paper. But one can't prove it."

> How did Raúl Salinas, a civil engineer with a long trail of chicanery and corruption, come to rub shoulders with leading academics?

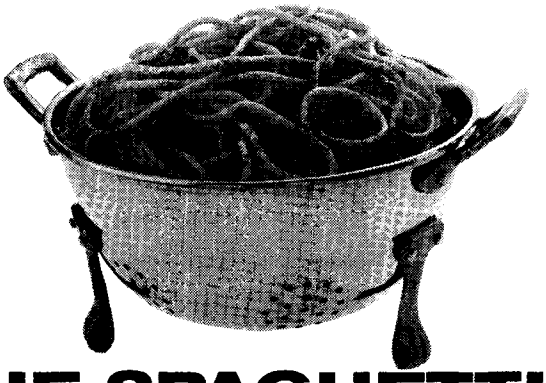
Surprisingly, Cornelius's collaboration with Raúl did not end with his departure from the center. During the following academic year, Cornelius facilitated a second project for Raúl, which resulted in an obscure volume on Mexican telecommunications.

Why did Cornelius, who spent years building the center's scholarly reputation, continue to support Raúl's intellectual endeavors? He will not say, but critics suggest that it was part of an ill-fated attempt to bolster the center's finances, which were jeopardized by cutbacks in the University of California system in the early 1990s. "Cornelius had dedicated many years to getting funding from individuals and foundations," says Székely, "and it was not out of the question to think that by cultivating a relationship with the government of Mexico led by Carlos Salinas, he could get some of the funding needed to continue the center's work."

It's a compelling hypothesis, replete with irony: While attempting to maintain the center's economic viability, Cornelius, strapped for funds, put his faith in the Salinas brothers and saw his institution tarnished as a result.

Today, with Raúl behind bars (his sentence was recently reduced to 27.5 years) and Carlos living in exile, the center is under new leadership and in stable financial health. But Cornelius, who remains in La Jolla as the Gildred Professor of Political Science at UCSD, is contrite. "I regret Raúl's presence at the center," he states. "It has caused me deep personal and professional pain. There is no question in my mind that the Salinas brothers took advantage of the center's good offices and my good faith to help manage a domestic political problem."

SCOTT SHERMAN



THE SPAGHETTI FACTOR

THE WORDS "DOMESTIC violence" tend to conjure images of wounded women at the mercy of aggressive men. After all, police reports and court statistics indicate that in close to 95 percent of cases women are the victims and men are the perpetrators of domestic battery. But this past March, Erin Pizzey, who founded London's first battered-women's shelter in 1971, aired a startling documentary she had made on BBC2's *Counterblast* TV program. Men, the documentary indicated, are as often victims of domestic abuse as women. John Archer, the author of two books examining the origins of male violence, joined Pizzey on the air, claiming that fully one third of all domestic violence cases result in visibly injured male partners.

One might imagine that Archer is either a media hound or a men's movement ideologue. In fact, he is a professor of psychology at the University of Central Lancashire. Archer belongs to a circle of perfectly respectable,

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like-minded social scientists who take what they term a "gender-neutral" approach to domestic violence data. These scholars reject what they see as their feminist critics' basic assumption: that domestic violence is a subcategory of violence against women. Part of the problem with the feminist model, Archer and his colleagues believe, is that it accounts for only a narrow range of violent acts. Proponents of the gender-neutral perspective believe it is necessary to look at all different kinds of assault—not just the ones that cause the most physical damage.

The real trailblazer of the gender-neutral approach is Murray Straus, a sociologist at the University of New Hampshire and co-director of New Hampshire's Family Violence Laboratory. Straus's credentials are considerable: He was one of the few scholars to study domestic violence back in the early '70s, when it was commonly presumed that domestic violence victims were overwhelmingly female. Straus shared that assumption. But as he amassed more data through the early 1980s, he shifted ground, arguing that men and women were equally often victims and aggressors. At the time, his papers were met with outrage and disbelief. Critics protested that he failed to account for what other sociologists considered the major impetus for female-on-male violence: self-defense. But according to Straus, female partners initiate about 50 percent of all domestic assaults. "When I first found the numbers of female assaults, I didn't believe them," he claims. "But more than one hundred studies have backed them up."

According to the "gender-neutral" scholars, female partners initiate about 50 percent of all domestic assaults.

How, then, does Straus explain the discrepancy between these findings and police statistics, which indicate that women are overwhelmingly victimized? Straus and his colleagues believe that the category of domestic violence should encompass a broad range of behavior, much of it not severe enough to require police intervention. To account for the full spectrum of assault tactics, Straus devised the Conflict Tactic Scale (CTS)—a checklist of violent acts that don't usually show up on the police blotter, including kicking, slapping, biting, and throwing things. More men than women may put their partners in the hospital, the gender-neutral social scientists argue, but women initiate assaults, of whatever degree, just as often.

Does the CTS offer a genuinely objective measure of violence in the home—or does it trivialize and water down the very notion of domestic battery? After all, activists like Erin Pizzey opened shelters to provide safe havens for women who were in serious danger. Slapping, kicking, and biting don't really seem to fit the bill.

Demie Kurz, a sociologist and women's studies professor at the University of Penn-

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sylvania, has faced off with Straus on these questions in two anthologies—*Current Controversies in Family Violence* (Sage, 1993) and *Women, Men, and Gender: Ongoing Debates* (Yale, 1997). She faults Straus's checklist for failing to include either the extent or the pattern of victims' injuries—and thereby also failing to differentiate long-standing patterns of repeated assault from isolated incidents of minor injury.

Straus counters that assault is assault, whatever the degree. "If slapping and kicking occurred in our lab or your magazine, and not in the family, the victim would have a lawsuit," he Straus. He concedes that assault victims are only likely to call the police when they are afraid for life or limb, "and that occurs far more often when it's a male offender and a female victim." But does that make male-on-female violence the last word on domestic assault? Straus thinks not. "It doesn't mean that women don't throw spaghetti at their partners and push them. Those acts are assaults, too, and they often lead to the women being seriously injured."

To Straus's feminist critics, this rhetoric sounds a lot like blaming the victim. If a woman throws spaghetti at a man and in return he gives her a black eye, can their actions be considered equivalent? Is "she started it" an acceptable, or even a relevant, excuse? Kersti Yllo, a professor of sociology at Wheaton College, was once a protégée of Straus's, but she has come to question his conclusions. Her research indicates that women are seven times more likely than men to be severely injured by their partners. This fact alone, Yllo believes, makes Straus's conception of reciprocal assault implausible. Furthermore, she argues, "The CTS doesn't take into account issues of self-defense or of the economic context for women who are beaten within the family—their fear and their limited options. If we count sexual assault as violence, it makes it almost impossible to maintain a gender-neutral approach."

Yllo fears that the arguments advanced by scholars like Straus and Archer may even contribute to the problem of domestic abuse. After all, in a world where physical strength and economic power accrue disproportionately to men, claims of reciprocity can always be wrongly used by male abusers to excuse their actions. And to overemphasize female-on-male violence when it is more often women who get seriously hurt may just add insult to injury. Says Yllo, "Straus writes that husband assault is a major social problem. But you wouldn't write an article during apartheid saying the violence of blacks is a major social problem."

Following Archer and Pizzey's *Counterblast* appearance, British feminists were even more unsparing. Bea Campbell, a well-known journalist and a visiting professor of women's studies at the University of Newcastle, speculates that Pizzey was "hard pressed to find her stray academic supporters." Pizzey's current views, says Campbell, will be "very attractive to some very furious men."

ALISSA QUART

WHAT BOYS LIKE

EDUCATION OFFICIALS IN the United Kingdom had a problem on their hands. Results of nationwide tests conducted last year indicated that while nearly 80 percent of eleven-year-old girls measured up to expected levels for reading comprehension, less than 66 percent of boys did so. The gender discrepancy was even worse for fourteen-year-olds.

When British education secretary David Blunkett heard the news in April, he rashly staked his job on turning the statistics around, publicly threatening to resign if both boys and girls weren't performing at the 80 percent mark by 2002. An unidentified Education Department source confided to the London *Daily Mail* that Blunkett "wants teachers to select...more adventurous stories which might appeal particularly to boys." It hardly seemed a coincidence, then, that just one month later, the UK's Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), a governmentally appointed but independent organization, published its recommendations for a new secondary school reading list: Drop long-winded classics by the likes of Henry James, Lord Byron, Edmund Spenser, and Matthew Arnold in favor of faster-paced contemporary novels by George Orwell and J.G. Ballard.

Not surprisingly, the decanonizations induced a state of apoplexy in literary scholars and dominated the newspaper editorial pages for several weeks. "Unpardonable," snapped Anne Barton, a professor at Trinity College, Cambridge, to the London *Times*. "A shame," cried the novelist and critic Malcolm Bradbury to the same paper. Both were outraged over what the paper termed the "loss of early greats from the world of English literature."

The controversial reading list is, in fact, part of a larger set of scholastic guidelines developed by the QCA in tandem with Blunkett and published in May as the *National Curriculum Review Consultation*. Both the QCA and Blunkett are now hesitant to talk about the basis for their revisions to the reading list, but it seems education officials were especially worried that

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female teachers have not been choosing the kind of literature that would most interest their male pupils. If given too many novels by Jane Austen and George Eliot and not enough by H.G. Wells, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Arthur Conan Doyle, boys evidently stand in serious danger of developing the idea that reading is, well, not a manly undertaking. As a senior government source explained to the *Daily Mail,* Blunkett was "concerned that teachers are more interested in female-friendly stories of love and romance than stirring tales of derring-do which appeal to young boys."

Of course, gender-sensitive reading lists alone may not be enough to send male test scores soaring. The *National Curriculum Review Consultation* also urges teachers to engage boys' interest in English by integrating reading and writing "into activities which involve getting things done as well as expressing imagination and feeling."

Could such old-fashioned assumptions about sexual difference really have currency with British schoolteachers? Although few are willing to say so on the record, many seem comfortable with Blunkett's apparent gender logic. "How often do we see the bright-eyed and bushy-tailed student, often male, switch off and no longer find school challenging and stimulating?" lamented Judith Mullen, the head of Melbourn Village College in Cambridgeshire, to London's *Financial Times* in May.

The QCA insists that Henry James and the other authors were not dropped solely because they were deemed uninteresting to young men; nor are the decisions, in the words of one spokesperson, a judgment on any author's "quality and suitability." Still, even where gender is not an issue, critics worry that the organization is pandering to contemporary sensibilities, recommending a turn to literature lite. The *Review Consultation* asserts that "teachers, individually and collectively, have to reappraise their teaching in response to the changing needs of their pupils and the ideas and attitudes of society and economic forces." And while the introduction of more contemporary and multicultural voices (such as the playwrights Samuel Beckett and David Hare, the poet Derek Walcott, and the Kenyan novelist Ngugi wa Thiong'o) into the curriculum has been widely applauded, many academics are sore that these inaugurations should come at the expense of traditional writers deemed less palatable. "I deplore the idea that contemporary authors should be an unremitting diet," says Barton. "It is important for children to be put in touch with writers of the past as well

The Education Secretary was "concerned that teachers are more interested in female-friendly stories of love and romance than stirring tales of derring-do which appeal to young boys."

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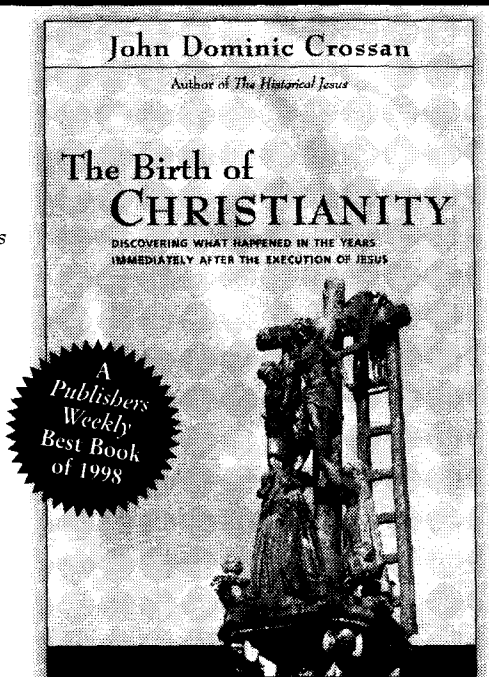
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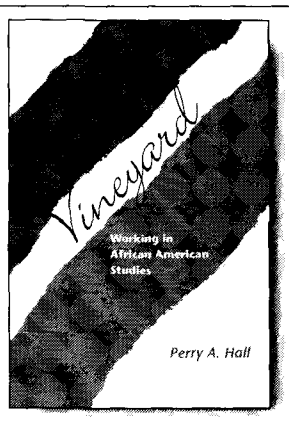

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as writers of the present. It impoverishes the study of young writers not to read their predecessors."

Of course, the academics may also be concerned that the QCA did not consult with any literary scholars before making its recommendations. Instead, it seems that the board's research was handled mostly through what a QCA spokesperson called "advice from the [teaching] profession": questionnaires to schoolteachers, surveys, and interviews. In the case of James, for example, the spokesperson explained, "few schools are choosing novels by Henry James and we thought it sensible to include somebody more popular with the schools."

Perhaps taken aback by all the negative publicity, the QCA now seems eager to wash its hands of responsibility for the reading list. According to QCA board member Alan Cox, the list is only a suggestion, "the sort of things schools should be thinking of"—a remark that strikes critics as particularly weak-kneed.

"Ministers cannot have it both ways," fumed the columnist Roy Hattersley in the *Guardian* in June. "Since they want the teachers to follow their lead, they cannot pretend that they hope to be ignored when they suggest that schools turn their backs on [Henry James], one of the half dozen greatest novelists of the English language."

Perhaps James ought to have the last word on the controversy. In his 1884 essay, "The Art of Fiction," he responded to the critic Walter Besant, who had insisted that the good novel must be full of adventures. "Why of adventures more than

of green spectacles?" James wondered. "And what *is* adventure when it comes to that, and by what sign is the listening pupil to recognize it? It is an adventure—an immense one—for me to write this little article; and for a Bostonian nymph to reject an English duke is an adventure only less stirring, I should say, than for an English duke to be rejected by a Bostonian nymph. I see dramas within dramas in that, and innumerable points of view."

LEAH HOFFMANN

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DESIGN

WE ASKED FIVE GRAPHIC DESIGNERS TO TELL US ABOUT THE BEST BOOKS IN THEIR FIELD.

Jessica Helfand, visiting lecturer in graphic design at Yale University and author of *Six (+2) Essays on Design and New Media* (William Drenttel, 1998) and *Paul Rand: American Modernist* (William Drenttel, 1999).

"It is always difficult to recommend books on graphic design because they tend to be image intensive and prose poor. But there is one book that is essential: Now back in print, **Josef Müller-Brockmann**'s ***Grid Systems in Graphic Design: A Visual Communications Manual*** (Hastings House, 1991) describes the theory and evolution of the grid in book, poster, and exhibition design. The examples may appear dated, but Müller-Brockmann's basic notions are still relevant. Grids, like typography, remain a common currency in the designer's vocabulary—critical to understanding form and balance, harmony and tension. That said, I have always believed that students of design also have much to learn from the broader, more comprehensive literatures of parallel disciplines like film studies, media criticism, and architectural theory. **Mitchell Stephens**'s ***The Rise of the Image the Fall of the Word*** (Oxford, 1998) traces the complex—and surprisingly radical—evolution of the moving image over time and across different media. In a similar vein, **Daniel Boorstin**'s ***The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*** (Vintage, 1992) looks at a peculiar form of cultural narcissism that pervades contemporary society, manifesting itself in an exaggerated preoccupation with appearances. Though the book was originally published in 1962, Boorstin's thesis remains equally—if not more—valid today, particularly for the designer seeking to reconcile the relationships between representation and replication, invention and suggestion, the real and the virtual."

Lawrence Mirsky, director of the Herb Lubalin Study Center of Design and Typography at the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art and editor of *The News Aesthetic* (Princeton Architectural Press, 1995).

"***Readings in Information Visualization: Using Vision to Think***, written and edited by **Stuart K. Card, Jock D. Mackinlay,** and **Ben Shneiderman** (Morgan Kaufmann, 1999), addresses the latest challenge that technology has brought to design: How can abstract data take visual form in a three-dimensional, interactive environment? Scientists and military and medical laboratories nationwide are seeking to summarize millions of documents using linear, spatial, and matrix constructs. Technology that was once available only to research labs is now on the commercial market, and this book shows how it can be used to express abstract data in novel ways. ***The World's Writing Systems,*** edited by **Peter T. Daniels** and **William Bright** (Oxford, 1996), explores the origins of, and relationships between, the world's languages. The material ranges from the influence of a script on the political boundaries of a nation to the invention of a script as divine inspiration."

Leif Allmendinger, associate professor of visual communications at Northern Illinois University.

"My favorite design book of the moment is not really a design book at all but a critical look at the impact of technology on society. Those of us who empathize with the people who use our designs would do well to read **Edward Tenner**'s ***Why Things Bite Back: Technology and the Revenge of Unintended Consequences*** (Knopf, 1996). This book raises the possibility that a design, no matter how carefully planned, may have consequences far different from those originally intended. Tenner documents what he calls the 'revenge effect,' which happens when a technological solution makes a problem worse. In the early 1980s, for instance, a lot of experts believed that networked personal computers promised a paperless office. In fact, they have dramatically increased the amount of paper we use. Tenner also writes about 'complicating effects'—instances in which technology does solve a problem, but also makes life more difficult for its users. Graphic designers are no doubt familiar with this. Electronic publishing programs such as PageMaker were intended to simplify the design process. But they also introduced a whole new set of issues for designers to deal with: font problems, incompatible software, various operating platforms, and ini-

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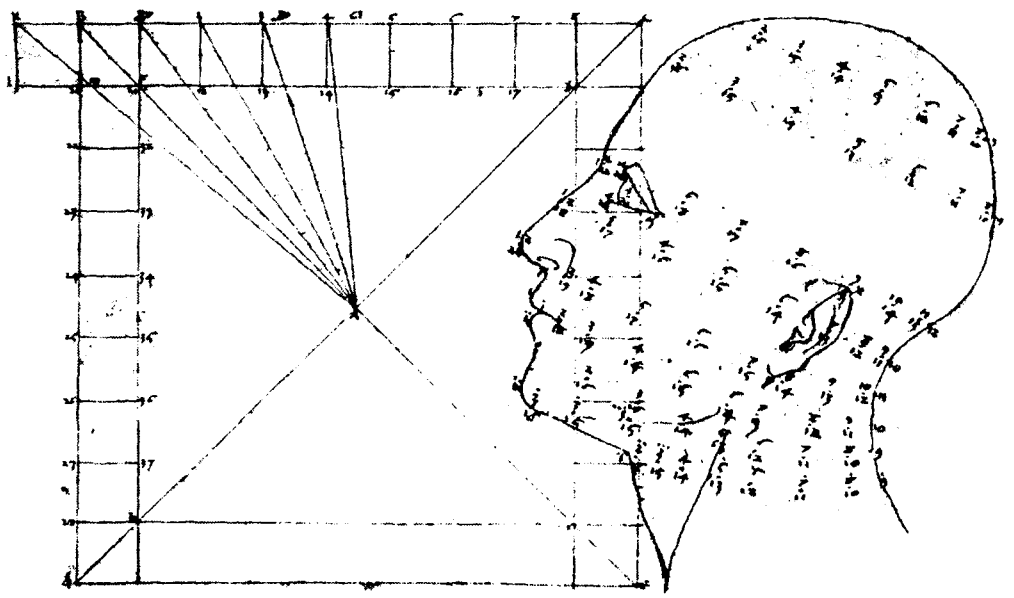
tialization conflicts, to name a few. Designers like to talk about problem solving, implying that design can improve the quality of life by eliminating difficulties people face. Tenner's book documents the limits of this approach and provides insight into the social and technical systems within which design functions."

Robin Kinross, typographer and publisher in London and author of *Modern Typography: An Essay in Critical History* (Hyphen, 1992).



PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA, DE PROSPECTIVA PINGENDI

"The best design thinking is contained in artifacts, rather than in books. But books that change one's thinking about design do sometimes come along. **Benedict Anderson's** ***Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*** (Verso, 1983) is short, beautifully written, and very wide in scope. Anderson is a rare cultural historian who takes printing seriously. He argues that printed texts—from newspapers to novels—form a ground on which national communities can find themselves united. Anderson's book is an exhilarating airlift out of the confines of the English-speaking world and away from the blinkers of design culture. **Jack Goody's** ***The Domestication of the Savage Mind*** (Cambridge, 1977) is similarly short and sharp. It offers an anthropological look at communication, with a strong material and historical basis. The bulk of Goody's argument emphasizes the development of nonlinear organizations of text, especially lists and tabular matter. The idea of text, made so vague by literary theorists, becomes specific and complex in Goody's account."

Steven Heller, editor of *AIGA Journal of Graphic Design*, chair of the M.F.A. program in graphic design at the School of Visual Arts in New York City, and editor of ***The Education of a Graphic Designer*** (Allworth, 1998).

"***All Consuming Images*** by **Stuart Ewen,** revised edition, (Basic, 1999) identifies those of us who make or manipulate images as significant players in the world of spin and public relations. Most professional designers consider the idea of taking cultural, social, and even political responsibility for their work unimportant. Ewen's book prevails against this view, taking a hard look at how advertising professionals—from copywriters to art directors and graphic designers—influence their environments for good or ill. ***Paul Rand: A Designer's Art*** by **Paul Rand** (Yale, 1985), now out of print, is a monograph-cum-manifesto by America's leading modernist designer (and corporate communications pioneer). A revision of his earlier *Thoughts on Design* (Wittenborn and Schultz, 1946), which served as the bible for the postwar advertising revolution, this book describes design as a formal, aesthetic, and conceptual marriage of rationalism and wit. To Rand, 'good design is good will,' and goodwill is good citizenship.

"***A History of Graphic Design*** by **Philip B. Meggs** (Wiley, 1998) is the foundation on which graphic design history is currently studied and taught. As an omnibus, it suffers from many faults. Nonetheless, it's the model against which all subsequent design histories and biographies have been developed. Originally published in 1983, Meggs's book demonstrates that graphic design has a significant history both as a tool of commerce and as a cultural form. ***Modern Typography: An Essay in Critical History*** by **Robin Kinross** (Hyphen, 1992) contrasts serious advances in typography with the trivial pursuits encouraged by commerce and artistes. Kinross traces the rise of printers from lowly journeymen to artisans and of typographers from mere typesetters to typographic engineers. Modernism, it turns out, is not just a phenomenon of the interwar years; rather, it's a slow, evolutionary process. In terms that might upset orthodoxy, Kinross argues that the new typography, as codified by the German designer Jan Tschichold in the 1920s and practiced by various adherents, was not merely a reaction to antiquated styles: It was the logical extension of historical trends. He distinguishes between significant typographic milestones and the stylistic diversions that follow in the wake of meaningful change."

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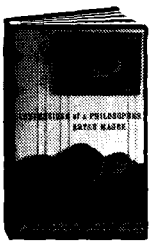

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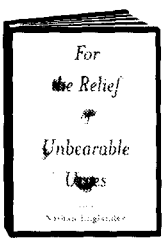

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The Finest Books. The Greatest Minds.

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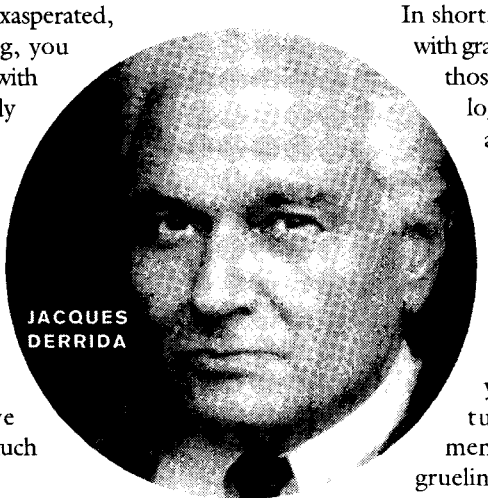
THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING JACQUES

AS AN ALIENATED TEENAGER, YOU READ SARTRE. In college, you smoked Gauloises and spouted Derrida. Later, in graduate school, nagged by self-doubt, you found relief in the giddy wanderlust of Baudrillard, the moral certitude of Bourdieu, and the unfettered optimism of Deleuze and Guattari.

French philosophers. You grew up with them. Alternately impressed and exasperated, worshipful and disparaging, you have the kind of relationship with their work that you normally reserve for human beings. You do not understand everything they write, but you feel you know them. They changed your life. In retrospect, though, you have to admit it all seems rather preposterous: You and these hopelessly abstruse Gauls—who could have guessed there would be so much chemistry between you?



JACQUES DERRIDA

ANN GRILLO/SYGMA

Many have remarked—in this country, often with a note of envy—the widespread appeal of postwar French philosophy. Fewer have tried to account for it. One scholar who has is Michèle Lamont, a sociologist at Princeton University. In a 1987 essay titled "How to Become a Dominant French Philosopher: The Case of Jacques Derrida," Lamont subjected the outsize reputation enjoyed by the French theorist to cold-blooded scientific scrutiny: a thirty-three-page analysis complete with charts and graphs depicting the changing profile of deconstruction's international "diffusion" and "institutional positioning." Her conclusion: Derrida's enviable international prestige had almost nothing to do with what she called the "intrinsic value" of his ideas.

Derrida, she declared, was a brand name in classrooms on both sides of the ocean because his work incorporated "a sophisticated writing style, a distinctive theoretical framework, and a focus on questions defined as both important and concerned with an important philosophical tradition." The difference between Derrida and the dozens of potential rivals whose work these generalizations also describe could be chalked up to deconstruction's theoretical "ambiguity" and its "adaptability to any text"—traits that no doubt gave it a leg up in the marketplace of ideas. Furthermore, Lamont insisted, Derrida benefited greatly from circumstances outside his control, including, in the United States, a "disciplinary crisis" in literary criticism and, in France, an upturn in the demand for "sophisticated intellectual goods."

In short, Derrida's was not a story with grand themes. It was not about those big ideas—*différance* and logocentrism. The Derridean apotheosis, it appeared, was an event of a nearly meaningless nature. Derrida had simply been in the right place at the right time.

So now you feel gypped. That's to be expected: The man in whom you'd invested all those tuition dollars—not to mention years of sometimes grueling mental labor—turns out to be, genius or no genius, more or less just a lucky guy and a successful self-promoter. But there is a way to make yourself feel better. It involves reading a little book by Michel Biron and Pierre Popovic called *Un livre dont vous etes l'intellectuel* (Fides, 1998), which the authors hope to publish in English as *How to Become a French Intellectual*. Biron and Popovic, professors at the University of Quebec and the University of Montreal, respectively, describe themselves as sociologists of literature. They understand not only that the history of ideas is shot through with arbitrariness of the crudest—and cruelest—sort but that this is precisely what makes it so much fun. So cheer up. By reading Biron and Popovic's book, you'll learn the story

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JEAN-PAUL SARTRE, 1964

How to be a French intellectual? Biron and Popovic count the ways.

of the postwar French philosophers and—here is the cathartic part—be able to pretend you're one too. This is intellectual history as choose-your-own-adventure story—except that the plot and the characters are real. Here is how it works: You, the reader, are the aspiring *philosophe* whose career—if you're lucky enough to have one—depends on how you choose to navigate a series of star-studded vignettes capturing seminal moments in the French academy over the last forty years.

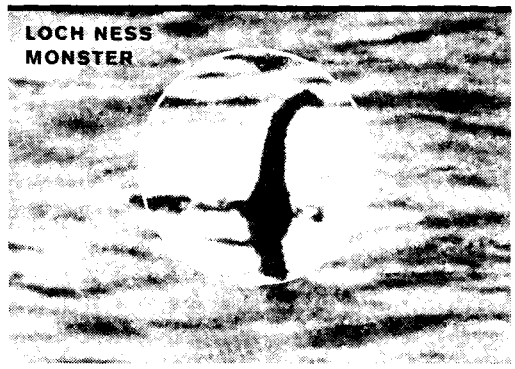
Take the first page. By the end of the second sentence, you must make a momentous decision: "It's 1960, you're twenty years old and you have to choose a mentor. Do you pick Raymond Picard or Roland Barthes?" Be careful, now. In this exercise, hindsight is no guarantee of safe passage. It is not necessarily an advantage to know that by 1963 Picard—renowned expert on Racine, chair of French literature at the Sorbonne, and the personification of old-school philology—would find himself pitted against Barthes—the avatar of the unabashedly ideological *nouvelle critique*—in a losing battle for nothing less than the future of literary studies. Say you decide to go with Barthes. The next thing you know, you're in the café frequented by the *maître penseur*. He's ensconced in his usual seat. You catch his eye. In a glance, he's sized you up. You approach his table, a book under your arm. Is it Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex*? Sade's *Justine*? Pierre Loti's *Aziyadé*? Unbeknownst to you, its title will tell him all he needs to know about your prospects.

You go with Beauvoir. After all, she's the rage in feminist circles. But Barthes nurses a grudge against her celebrity lover Jean-Paul Sartre and holds her in low esteem. You are curtly dismissed.

Of course, all is not lost. You might try that seminar on feminism and socialism you've heard people talking about, or a sociology course with Bourdieu, or, if you're really brave, you might go into analysis with Lacan. But pick your pathology carefully! Lacan, it turns out, has a weakness for schizophrenics but finds agoraphobics deadly dull. Even if you manage to survive the tumult of 1968—by deciding to throw out Rousseau and reread Marx, by abandoning Lacan for Roman Catholicism, by joining the angry mobs at the barricades—all it takes is a little indiscretion here or there to derail your career in mid-journey. Your lecture on the origins of discourse is either a tour de force of theoretical rigor ("Heidegger's famous question, 'Why is there Being and not Nothing?' must henceforth replace the question that haunts every good deconstructionist: 'Why is there an Other and not No one?'") or a transparent fraud. A hastily executed memoir of your six months as a visiting professor at UC-Santa Barbara turns out to be either an irreparable humiliation or the ticket to a writing contract with *Paris-Match* and an invitation to apply for a prestigious academic post.

The point of all this trial and error, as Biron and Popovic explain in their introduction, is that no discipline, ideology, or venue—from *Tel Quel* to *Paris-Match*—is a priori incompatible with success. "The book is a game, but it's not a joke," says Biron. "The truth is we don't know why one theorist or theory succeeds at a given moment and not at another. Derrida works very well in North America. Why he is not important somewhere else is a mystery that has something to do with politics, status seeking, social mobility, and individual will. We wanted to show how the little things can influence a long career and even the big orientations of intellectual life." He chuckles mischievously and adds, "At the end of the book, you don't know why your choices worked, only that they probably wouldn't work again."

EMILY EAKIN



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WEIRD SCIENCE

WATCH OUT! IF YOU'VE EVER TRAMPED through thick forests of the Pacific Northwest with an ear cocked for the high-pitched whistles of bigfoot, staked out Scotland's Loch Ness with hopes of detecting a thirty-foot-long, humpbacked monster, or sailed the Chesapeake with an eye open for Chessie, America's East-Coast sea serpent, you may be a cryptozoologist.

But do not fear. You are not alone. Those prone to searching for these and other notoriously elusive creatures have carved out an academic niche for themselves—albeit a tiny one. Cryptozoology is a moniker born of wedding three elegant Greek words—*kryptos* (hidden), *zoon* (animal), and *logos* (discourse)—meaning, literally, the study of hidden animals. Not sur-

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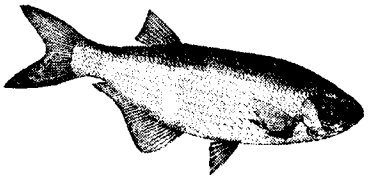

Coleman believes cryptozoology will become "a minor, then a major, and maybe in twenty-five years...a Ph.D."

prisingly, the field is often ridiculed by mainstream scientists, even though more than a few of its leaders are well established in the academy.

Consider, for example, Roy P. Mackal and J. Richard Greenwell, founders of the International Society of Cryptozoology (ISC). Mackal, a biologist at the University of Chicago, and Greenwell, an ecologist at the University of Arizona, convened the group's first meeting in 1982 at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C. There, the assembled researchers established their agenda: In addition to tracking undocumented animals, they would investigate "the possible existence of *known* animals in areas where they were not supposed to occur (either now or in the past), as well as the...persistence of presumed extinct animals to the present time or to the recent past....What makes an animal of interest to cryptozoology...is that it is *unexpected*."

ISC specializes in defying expectations: Its board is composed of sixteen well-credentialed scientists, many of whom are affiliated with a university or national museum. The most obvious candidate for cryptozoology's Linnaeus, however, is Loren Coleman, a sociologist at the University of Southern Maine (USM) and an expert on family violence and teen-suicide clusters. With his new book, *Cryptozoology A to Z: The Encyclopedia of Loch Monsters, Sasquatch, Chupacabras, and Other Authentic Mysteries of Nature* (Fireside, 1999), and a speaker's seat at this summer's International Cryptozoology Symposium—to be held, appropriately, at Loch Ness, Scotland—Coleman is undoubtedly a bona fide cryptozoologist.

In his book, co-authored with the encyclopedist Jerome Clark, Coleman refrains from asserting that all animals in *Cryptozoology A to Z* exist. Instead, he presents the available evidence for each alleged cryptid—the scientific name for an existing species that was once thought to be extinct—and allows the reader to draw his or her own conclusions. Moreover, Coleman insists, he maintains rigorous standards when selecting what evidence to present. When he finds no forensic support for an alleged sighting, for example, he is careful to vet the credibility of eyewitnesses. "I do background checks," he explains. "I talk to friends, employers, family."

For traditional scientists, no doubt the most interesting entries are those on species discovered in the twentieth century, like the pygmy elephant and the okapi, a mule-like creature with zebra stripes—both of which have been spotted in the Congo. When pressed, however, Coleman confesses a particular affection for the "hairy hominoids." Most famous, of course, is bigfoot, which *A to Z* asserts is "unquestionably North America's biggest cryptozoological mystery." But within the pages of Coleman's book, there are numerous other hominoids, including the yeti—a.k.a. the abominable snowman—and the skunk ape of Florida, which, as described by one witness, smells "like a dog that hasn't been bathed in a year and suddenly gets rained on." Sightings from before World War II through the 1970s reported the ape to be "chimpanzee-like—short, hairy, and smelly." More recently, the skunk ape has evolved into a biped "seven feet tall, weighing three hundred pounds, covered in a dark-brown, red, or black fur, and bearing a distinct and far-ranging aroma, redolent of an unholy mixture of skunk, rotten eggs, and cow manure." In 1997, a fire chief in Ochopee, Florida, detected such a creature near his home and took a distant photograph of it. After developing the image, he "just looked at it and laughed," judging it to be a prankster in a gorilla suit. But, adds Coleman, "others were not so certain it was a hoax."

The skunk ape has yet to be caught and subjected to thorough taxonomic investigation. But not all of Coleman's selections are so furtive. Consider the coelacanth. Fondly described as "the darling of cryptozoology," the coelacanth is a large lobe-finned fish that first appeared during the Devonian period, about 350 million years ago. Paleontologists long thought the fish extinct with the dinosaurs. But in 1938, Coleman recounts, a "five-foot-long, 127-pound, large-scaled blue fish was brought up in a net off the coast of South Africa by Captain Hendrick Goosen, of the trawler *Nerine*." Arriving at the local fish market with his catch, Goosen invited Marjorie Courtenay-Latimer, a curator and taxidermist, to look over his haul for interesting specimens. Spotting "the most beautiful fish [she] had ever seen," Courtenay-Latimer dragged the fish back to her museum, northeast of Cape Town, and identified it there as a coelacanth. Her finding was later confirmed by ichthyologists, and thus the big fish found its ontological status upgraded from extinct to cryptid.

Coleman's belief in the "romance of the quest" keeps him going, and he hopes to be able to inspire the same feeling in students. He is currently negotiating with USM to offer a junior- and senior-level cryptozoology course in the spring of 2000. But, even if he succeeds, will cryptozoology ever be an accepted field of study? Is it possible to fashion a scientific discipline out of the study of objects that are—by definition—not known to exist? Coleman thinks so, but it may take a long time: "First there will be a minor, and then a major, and maybe in twenty-five years

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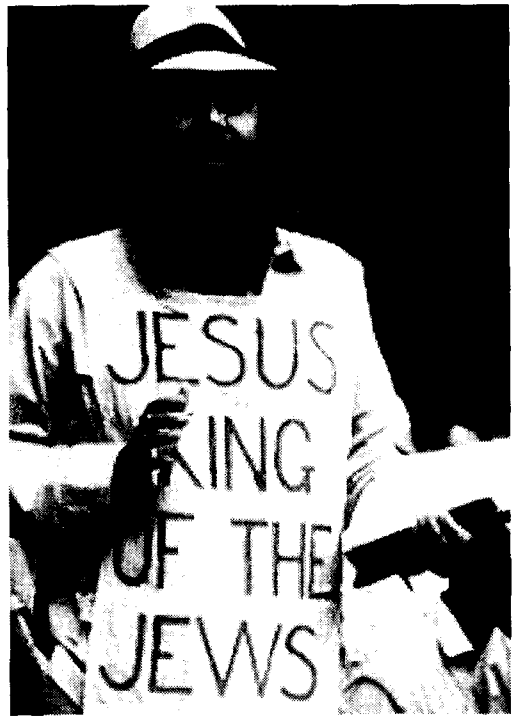
there will be a Ph.D. The field is about linguistics, folklore, anthropology, zoology, forensic science, psychology—it's multidisciplinary."

Still, the question remains: Does Coleman believe in the existence of all the species collected in his book? "Belief is for religion," he told the Portland *Press Herald* last year. "I accept that in 20 percent of the reports, there seems to be some actual evidence for an undiscovered animal. In the majority, it's misidentifications, hoaxes, mistakes." However, he adds, "I accept bigfoot.... Hundreds of years of sightings aren't wrong.... [But] until we have a body, people—straight zoologists—will not accept this. So I have to keep doing my work."

James Brody, the chairman of the zoology department at the University of New Hampshire, would agree. "Where is the evidence? Where is the specimen?" he asks. "Every species that is described to science has what is known as a specimen in a museum somewhere. We have physical evidence for things going back millions of years. Bigfoot would have left a skeleton."

HILLARY FREY

KOSHER FOR CHRIST



GAMMA LIAISON

A reconstructionist rabbi's sympathetic portrait of Jews for Jesus sets off a furor.

"THE END OF THE WORLD IS NO TIME TO finally realize Jesus is the Messiah!" So declares a brightly lit sign currently hanging in New York City subway stations. Jews for Jesus, the by-now-notorious sect that paid for this cheery message, is also behind a direct-mail campaign that targets people with Jewish-sounding surnames with another take on millennial fever: a bright-orange postcard asking, "Y2K—Is It Good for the Jews?" As far as most Jewish leaders are concerned, however, the missionary group doesn't give a damn about what's good for the Jews, and its current publicity drive, reported to be the most aggressive ever, is nothing but trickery.

Since its inception in the early 1970s, Jews for Jesus, along with numerous other messianic Jewish or Hebrew-Christian groups, has been accused of stealth proselytizing, of using comforting Jewish language and imagery to inveigle Jews into its churches-camouflaged-as-synagogues and then convert them to evangelical Christianity. But now a reconstructionist rabbi and Temple University religion professor is arguing otherwise. In her controversial new book, *Messianic Judaism* (Beacon, 1999), Carol Harris-Shapiro declares that messianic Jews use Hebriac traditions not to deceive others but to affirm their own Jewishness, which they believe does not conflict with the acceptance of Jesus Christ as their personal savior.

Harris-Shapiro has written an unusually sympathetic book about a group that has received next to no sympathy from either Jews or Christians. An expansion of her doctoral thesis, *Messianic Judaism* focuses on just one congregation, pseudonymously called B'nai Mashiach (People of the Messiah) and located in a place called Liberty, a thinly disguised Philadelphia. It took the author years to win the confidence of B'nai Mashiach's naturally wary members, and her book is an outsider-as-insider's account that doesn't shy away from personal revelations. Harris-Shapiro explains how her interest in messianic Judaism dates back to her Philadelphia childhood, when a teenage cousin became involved with this very congregation and eventually went on to full-blown evangelical Christianity—much to her family's dismay. She also confesses her own fear of being converted, or even brainwashed, while on the job. "As I spoke with more and more people," she writes, "I realized that if someone from that group had approached me when I was eighteen or nineteen years old, before I came to terms with my own community, I might very well be a member of the congregation instead of studying the congregation."

The controversy over Harris-Shapiro's book, however, has centered less on her unusual empathy for this wayward sect than on her argument that the movement—which claims approximately twenty

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"There's no such thing as a 'messianic Jew,'" says Rabbi Eric Yoffie. "The whole notion is a fraud."

thousand members nationwide—should legitimately be included in the ranks of American Jewry. This is a tough sell, not least because Judaism has traditionally considered converts to Christianity to be apostates *(meshummadim)* and denied them certain civil rights under Talmudic law; one of the most important Jewish prayers, the *Amidah*, includes a curse on apostates.

But without endorsing the group's theological stand, Harris-Shapiro argues that in a world where different and even clashing versions of Judaism already exist, it's arbitrary to exclude one group because it subscribes to ideas the others reject. After all, she points out, many Orthodox Jews categorically dismiss the other three branches (Reconstructionist, Reform, and Conservative) as un-Jewish, and there are profound disagreements among the different camps within Orthodoxy. Messianism itself is not alien to Judaism; witness the recent furor in the Lubavitcher Hasidic community over the claim that their rabbi was the Messiah. Besides, Jews for Jesus like to point out that they, too, have rabbis and synagogues, pray in Hebrew, and even, in some cases, keep kosher, so doesn't that make them Jewish?

Mainstream Jewish leaders are appalled by Harris-Shapiro's equal-opportunity approach. In June, Rabbi Eric Yoffie, the president of one of the most Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the flagship organization of the most liberal denomination within Judaism, told the New York Jewish newspaper *The Forward* that Harris-Shapiro's arguments were "absurd" and denounced her book as credulous. "There's no such thing as a 'messianic Jew,'" he said. "The whole notion is a fraud." And Lawrence Schiffman, an Orthodox professor of Judaic studies at New York University, told the same paper that Harris-Shapiro had been "sucked into the very conception the missionaries want to create."

Harris-Shapiro answers her critics with an appeal to recent history. "We've always been syncretistic," she says. "Reform Judaism was considered a horror" when it was founded in the mid-nineteenth century because "it mingled Jewish categories with secular and Christian categories." She adds, "And then there's the blending of liberalism and Judaism that has been going on for so long. Some blends get the imprimatur of authenticity, and some don't. The taxonomy is we are Jews and they are Christians, but anomaly destabilizes the taxonomy."

On this point, Harris-Shapiro may be overly optimistic. Historically, the distinction between Jews and Christians has proved remarkably resistant to destabilization, a fact she readily admits.

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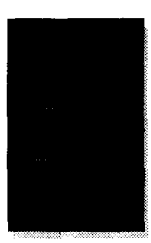

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"For European Jews, conversion to Christianity was going over to the enemy," she says. In her book, she points out that in premodern times Jewish converts to Christianity usually took a hostile attitude toward their former coreligionists, working actively to subvert Judaism. However, she claims that such is no longer the case, at least not at B'nai Mashiach: "Messianic Jews are telling the rest of us, 'We're not the Other, we are you!'" Indeed, only about half of all Jews for Jesus are Jewish. The rest are so-called messianic Gentiles, who belong either out of a desire to emulate first-century Christians, who still adhered to Jewish law, or out of what Harris-Shapiro calls "solidarity" with messianic Jews.

In today's postmodern society, Harris-Shapiro argues, the coexistence of Jewish and Christian practices in messianic Judaism makes sense. "What is authenticity?" she asks. "What is Jewish essence after the Enlightenment? Maybe there isn't any. There's a sense of loss, of alienation. This points out the postmodern religious condition, which leads to a kind of 'one from column A, one from column B' spirituality." In keeping with her postmodern motif, Harris-Shapiro concludes her book by invoking an ontological puzzle favored by deconstructionists, the dichotomy of the self and the other: "As the American Jewish community looks at Messianic Judaism, we see ourselves as in a carnival funhouse mirror.... We move cautiously up and down, side to side, watching the mirror magnify our flaws.... The enemy is us."

Ironically, that's exactly what the Orthodox would say.

JOHN DORFMAN

MOTIVE FOR MURDER

EVER SINCE THE RISE OF SELFISH-GENE THEORY in the 1970s, biologists have posited explanations for all sorts of seemingly bizarre animal behavior. Why on earth, for example, would a male gorilla tear a baby of its own species to shreds? Simple, most biologists would say: He's thinking with his genes. By killing the child of another male, the gorilla removes competition for his own genetic material. Moreover—a charming bonus—slaughtering the baby speeds its mother's return to estrus, or heat.

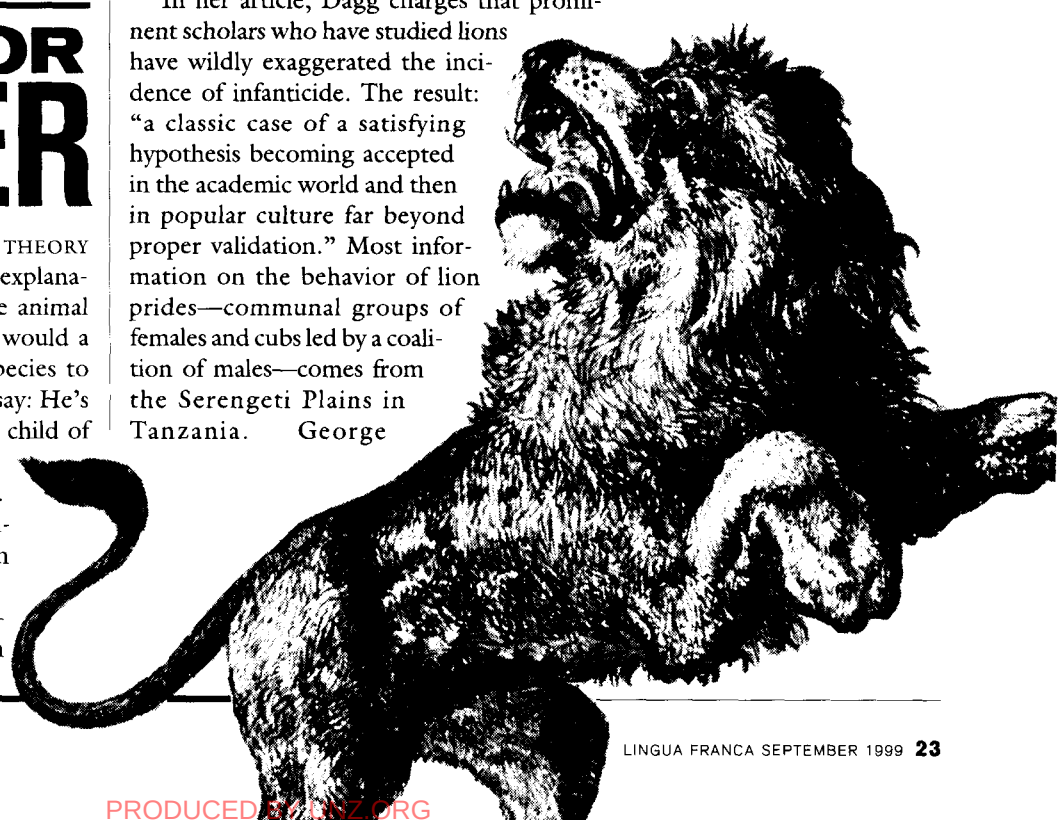
This interpretation of animal infanticide is now conventional wisdom in biology departments. The theory has also made its way into popular books like Robert Wright's *The Moral Animal,* where it serves as fodder for speculation about human behavior.

Nevertheless, detractors exist. Robert W. Sussman, an anthropologist at Washington University in St. Louis, has long had doubts about the prevalence of animal infanticide and the evolutionary explanation. In a controversial 1993 article in *American Anthropologist,* he and two co-authors argued that infanticide among primates was far rarer and less well understood than most scientists believed. Now, as editor of the same journal, he has set the biological anthropology community roiling again by publishing an article by Anne Innis Dagg, a biology Ph.D. and academic adviser at Canada's University of Waterloo, questioning the infanticide theory—this time in the case of lions. Shortly after the article's publication in the December 1998 issue, twenty-eight scholars signed a petition declaring the article "badly flawed" and even disingenuous. "The publication of this article," the scholars wrote to Sussman, "raises serious concerns about the academic standards and editorial policy of the *American Anthropologist.*"

Twenty-eight supporters of the lion-infanticide theory have sent *American Anthropologist* a letter of protest.

The target of Dagg's article is bigger than the sometimes-ugly child-care habits of *Panthera leo:* The piece is a grenade lobbed at overstatements of the effects of natural selection on animal and—by extension—human behavior. The resulting controversy is proof that twenty-four years after E.O. Wilson was doused with a bucket of ice water at an academic conference, there is still no consensus on the basic tenets of sociobiology.

In her article, Dagg charges that prominent scholars who have studied lions have wildly exaggerated the incidence of infanticide. The result: "a classic case of a satisfying hypothesis becoming accepted in the academic world and then in popular culture far beyond proper validation." Most information on the behavior of lion prides—communal groups of females and cubs led by a coalition of males—comes from the Serengeti Plains in Tanzania. George



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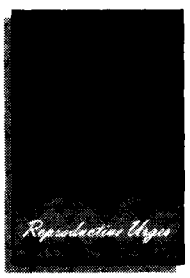
Dagg's article is a grenade lobbed at overstatements made in the name of selfish-gene theory.

Schaller, who did fieldwork there in the late 1960s, reported rates of lion-cub mortality as high as 50 percent, often from starvation, but detected no pattern of infanticide. Brian Bertram, who inherited Schaller's research project in 1969, suggested that the high rate of cub deaths when males took over a pride was evolutionarily beneficial to the males. But he witnessed only four cases of infanticide and conceded that his hypothesis was based on "somewhat scanty data."

The architects of the lion-infanticide theory were Craig Packer and Anne Pusey, of the University of Minnesota, a husband-wife team with a touch of pop-culture glamour thanks to appearances in numerous television animal documentaries. In 1984, after studying the data from various Serengeti research projects, the duo concluded that there had been seven witnessed instances of infanticide in seventeen years. A paltry number, Dagg writes, too small to justify the grand theory that has sprung up around it. But in 1984, Packer and Pusey argued that "there is circumstantial evidence that infanticide occurs almost every time a new coalition of males takes over a pride." By 1987, they were flatly asserting that "incoming males kill or evict all of the dependent young when they first enter the pride," a statement superseded in 1988 by the following: "All cub mortality within two months of a male takeover is...considered here to be due to infanticide."

Dagg argues that since cub mortality is high even under ordinary circumstances, it is quite a leap to attribute all deaths at the time of a takeover to infanticide. Moreover, to prove the infanticide theory, she says, researchers would have to do more than simply record cub deaths. They would have to demonstrate that the male lions taking over a pride are closely related, that those males actively kill cubs, that the same males mate with those cubs' mothers, and that the males then stick around long enough to protect their own cubs from infanticidal takeovers. No one, she claims, has confirmed whether all four of these conditions are true.

The disagreement between Dagg and Packer-Pusey turns on the relative merits of eyewitness accounts versus statistical analysis. Lions are nocturnal, making their behavior difficult to observe. Packer and Pusey, who say their data derives from thirty-three years of empirical observation involving thousands of lions, have recorded that more than 90 percent of cubs under three months of age die or disappear within the first few months of a takeover. "The reason we trust our inferences is that whenever someone wants



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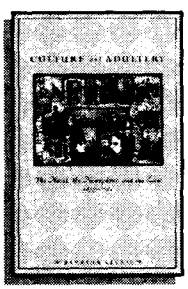

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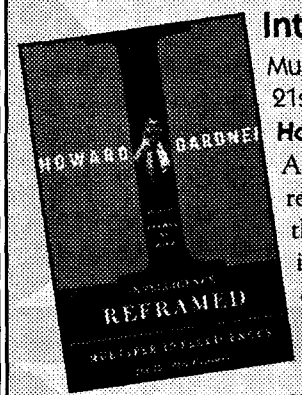

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to see infanticide, we can lead them to it and show it," Packer says.

Craig B. Stanford, an anthropologist at the University of Southern California who spearheaded the petition with UCLA's Joan Silk, says he "just went ballistic" when he read Dagg's article. Not only did it misrepresent the data on infanticide, ignoring reams of comparative statistics on species from gorillas to squirrels, he says, but its rhetoric was unnecessarily tendentious. Moreover, Stanford asks, what is an article on lions doing in an anthropology journal, anyway?

Sussman insists he has no idea what all the fuss is about. Of the five experts who read the article during the peer-review process, he says, four recommended publication. A fifth suggested it was better suited to an animal-behavior journal. Dagg, he maintains, "is a respected academic and scholar, and Stanford and Silk should not attempt to blackball her by petition behind her back."

One reason Dagg's article was met with raised eyebrows involves its unorthodox provenance. The essay is a revised version of a paper she wrote in the early 1980s called "Lying About Lions," which she couldn't persuade any journal to publish. Sussman heard about the paper a couple of years ago from a colleague at the University of Colorado. He phoned Dagg and asked if she would revise it. Dagg, who says she was "astonished" but pleased, rewrote it entirely, incorporating work on infanticide over the last twenty years. Still, despite this peculiar history, a number of anthropologists have praised the paper, including Berkeley professor emerita Phyllis Dolhinow, who says infanticide theorizing reflects "a feeding frenzy on imaginary data."

Sussman's role in the controversy seems particularly ironic. He was chosen as editor of anthropology's flagship journal in part to help heal a growing rift within the discipline. Biological anthropologists, archaeologists, and cultural anthropologists not enamored with contemporary theory had accused *American Anthropologist* of excessive enthusiasm for "postmodernism" in recent years. Only two issues into his term, a tonal shift is already evident in the journal. There is less jargon, for one thing, and more biology. But as Sussman's publication of Dagg's article shows, not all supporters of biological anthropology think alike. Sussman "has his own views," Stanford says. "He has managed to piss off a lot of people who the editorial board probably thought might be in his corner."

CHRISTOPHER SHEA

Packer and Pusey say that more than 90 percent of the youngest lion cubs die or disappear within the first few months of a family takeover.

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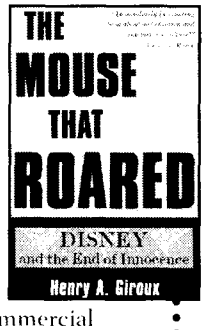

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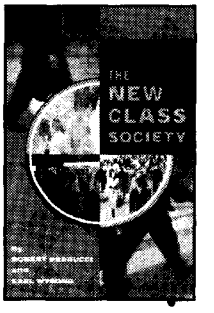

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TESTA

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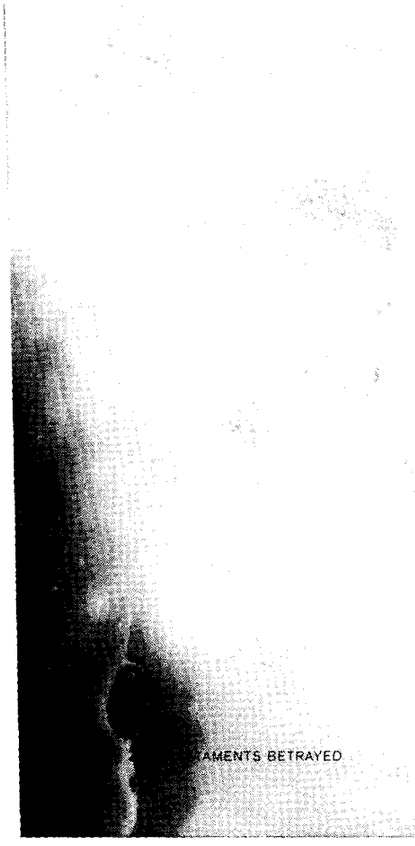

AMENTS BETRAYED

MUCH HAS CHANGED SINCE GERSON SHER traveled to Yugoslavia to research his dissertation amid the political and intellectual ferment of the late 1960s. For one thing, the idiosyncratic country that captured his imagination no longer exists. Nor does Praxis, the group of Marxist humanist philosophers Sher studied. But this is not the only reason he responds warily to a request for an interview: "I am appalled," he says, "that you should be interested in Praxis at this time."

Why? After all, according to the Harvard political theorist Seyla Benhabib, "the name Praxis has a distinguished history. It was used by dissidents against Stalinism and identified with the project of democratic socialism." Sher's dissertation, later published as *Praxis: Marxist Criticism and Dissent in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Indiana, 1977), explored what seemed a promising strain of humanist thought emerging from the University of Zagreb and the University of Belgrade. In the 1960s and 1970s, a glittering roster of Western intellectuals attended the Praxis group's yearly retreats on the Adriatic island of Korcula: Jürgen Habermas, A.J. Ayer, Norman Birnbaum, Lucien Goldmann, and Herbert Marcuse were just a few of those who gathered around the Yugoslav group and served on the editorial board of its eponymous journal. Strange, then, that today the term "Praxis" and the names of some of its leaders are just as often associated with the notoriously antihumanist rhetoric of Serbian nationalism and the murderous politics of Slobodan Milosevic.

History, the Praxists urged, "is made neither by objective forces nor dialectical laws; it is made instead by people, who act to transform their world within the limits of historical possibilities." So wrote Sher in 1977. In the precarious decade to follow, the Praxis philosophers would indeed transform their world. But the way they did so was not, at that time, imaginable to academics in the West. Who could have known that one of the Praxis philosophers would later become vice president of Milosevic's party—and its chief ideologue during the Bosnian war? Or that another member, once a passionate critic of nationalism, would sign a 1996 petition calling for The Hague to drop war crimes charges against the brutal Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, whom the petition dubbed "the true leader of all Serbs"?

Not all of the Praxists followed their leaders down the dark road of Serbian nationalism. The Croatian members cleaved

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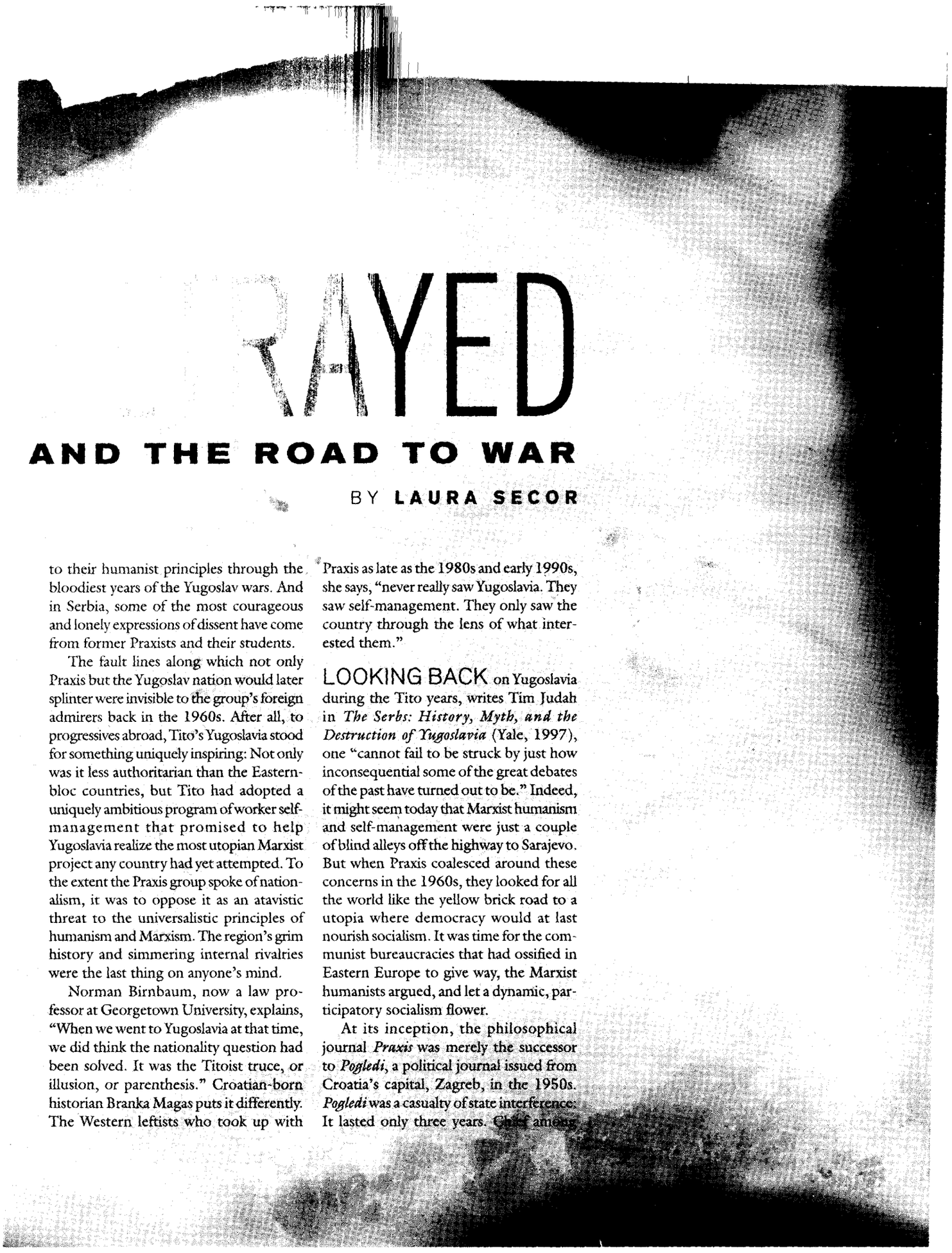

RAYED

AND THE ROAD TO WAR

BY **LAURA SECOR**

to their humanist principles through the bloodiest years of the Yugoslav wars. And in Serbia, some of the most courageous and lonely expressions of dissent have come from former Praxists and their students.

The fault lines along which not only Praxis but the Yugoslav nation would later splinter were invisible to the group's foreign admirers back in the 1960s. After all, to progressives abroad, Tito's Yugoslavia stood for something uniquely inspiring: Not only was it less authoritarian than the Eastern-bloc countries, but Tito had adopted a uniquely ambitious program of worker self-management that promised to help Yugoslavia realize the most utopian Marxist project any country had yet attempted. To the extent the Praxis group spoke of nationalism, it was to oppose it as an atavistic threat to the universalistic principles of humanism and Marxism. The region's grim history and simmering internal rivalries were the last thing on anyone's mind.

Norman Birnbaum, now a law professor at Georgetown University, explains, "When we went to Yugoslavia at that time, we did think the nationality question had been solved. It was the Titoist truce, or illusion, or parenthesis." Croatian-born historian Branka Magas puts it differently. The Western leftists who took up with Praxis as late as the 1980s and early 1990s, she says, "never really saw Yugoslavia. They saw self-management. They only saw the country through the lens of what interested them."

LOOKING BACK on Yugoslavia during the Tito years, writes Tim Judah in *The Serbs: History, Myth, and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (Yale, 1997), one "cannot fail to be struck by just how inconsequential some of the great debates of the past have turned out to be." Indeed, it might seem today that Marxist humanism and self-management were just a couple of blind alleys off the highway to Sarajevo. But when Praxis coalesced around these concerns in the 1960s, they looked for all the world like the yellow brick road to a utopia where democracy would at last nourish socialism. It was time for the communist bureaucracies that had ossified in Eastern Europe to give way, the Marxist humanists argued, and let a dynamic, participatory socialism flower.

At its inception, the philosophical journal *Praxis* was merely the successor to *Pogledi*, a political journal issued from Croatia's capital, Zagreb, in the 1950s. *Pogledi* was a casualty of state interference: It lasted only three years. Chief among

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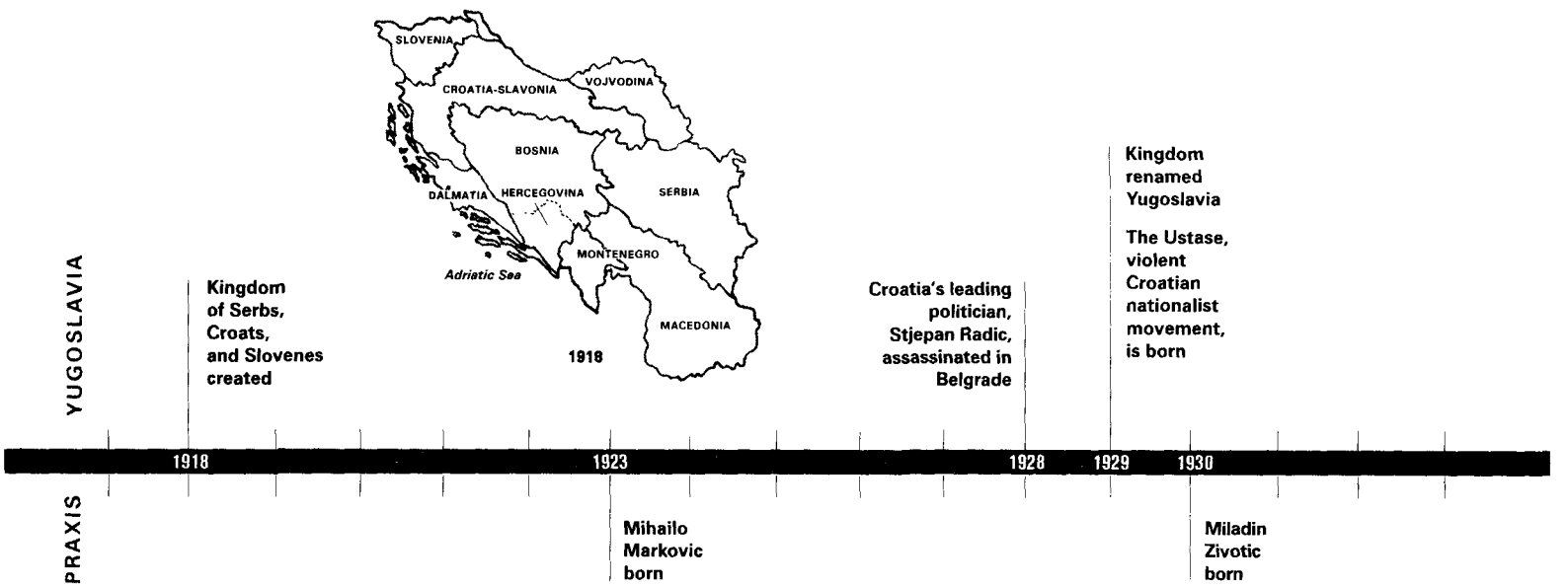

The material in this chronology has been drawn from the following sources:
Roger Cohen, *Hearts Grown Brutal: Sagas of Sarajevo* (Random House, 1998)
Fred Singleton, *A Short History of the Yugoslav Peoples* (Cambridge, 1989)
Robert Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia in the 1990s* (Columbia, 1999)

THE PRAXIS PHILOSOPHERS WERE AT ONCE THE YUGOSLAV SYSTEM'S MOST

the defunct journal's contributors had been the University of Zagreb sociologist Rudi Supek, who participated in the French Resistance as an émigré during World War II and later led an underground prisoners' organization when he was interned at Buchenwald; and the University of Zagreb philosopher Gajo Petrovic, a Serb from Croatia who gravitated toward the early Marx, existentialism, and Heidegger. Birnbaum remembers, "Supek and Petrovic were impressive for their moral rigor, their utter disdain of careerism. They were people you loved to be around." From the ashes of *Pogledi*, Supek, Petrovic, and their colleagues went on to start their summer school on Korcula in 1963 and a new journal, *Praxis*, in 1964. The group that formed around these ventures consisted of a close-knit circle of friends and colleagues—some from Supek's and Petrovic's departments at the University of Zagreb and another eight from the philosophy department at the University of Belgrade.

The philosophers published their new journal in a Serbo-Croat Yugoslav edition and in a multilingual international edition. And its editorial collective adopted an agenda that was more unified than anything *Pogledi* had ever set forth: The Praxis group advocated freedom of speech and of the press, and they believed that Stalinist authoritarianism had to be redressed in practice and rooted out of Marxist theory itself. To this end, they prescribed a return to Marx's romantic early writings, particularly the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* of 1844. Marx's more influential later work would emphasize the iron laws of historical determinism. But the 1844 *Manuscripts* waxed lyrical about the creative potential of human activity, through which man might realize his "species being."

This orientation was hardly a Yugoslav invention. If anything, the Praxists took their cue from neighboring Hungary, where Georg Lukacs had amassed a following of like-minded dissidents. Like Lukacs, the Praxists were captivated by the early Marx's theory of alienation. In an ordinary capitalist or a Stalinist socialist society, man was alienated from himself by the commodification of his labor and by the overweening power of a small, privileged class and its institutions. A utopian Marxist society, the Praxists imagined, would overcome that alienation; it would unleash human creativity—or "praxis"—by doing away with the ruling class through self-management. The workers would directly control not only their workplaces but also social and cultural institutions—even local political parties and governing bodies. The state, given enough time, would of its own accord "wither away," just as Marx had predicted.

Yugoslavia, despite Tito's bold initiatives, fell far short of this ideal. In Yugoslavia's hybrid economy, the much-touted self-managing enterprises were exposed to market pressures, on the one hand, and capricious state control, on the other. Regional oligarchies took root: In the end, local power brokers manipulated and ignored workers' councils in much the way managers do everywhere. But the Praxists saw these problems as evidence that self-management had not gone far enough. They were at once self-management's most passionate exponents abroad and the Yugoslav system's fiercest internal critics.

That Tito tolerated Praxis at all is remarkable. Virtually no other Communist country, with the possible exception of Hungary, allowed as much vocal dissent as Yugoslavia did in Tito's day. But there were limits to Tito's tolerance. At a philosophy faculty meeting in 1967, Ljubomir Tadic, a Praxis philosopher at the University of Belgrade, instigated a particularly perilous game of chicken with the authorities. In the antiauthoritarian spirit of Praxis, Tadic publicly criticized the constitutional provision that allowed Tito to remain in office for longer than his eight-year mandate. When the renegade professor came under government inves-

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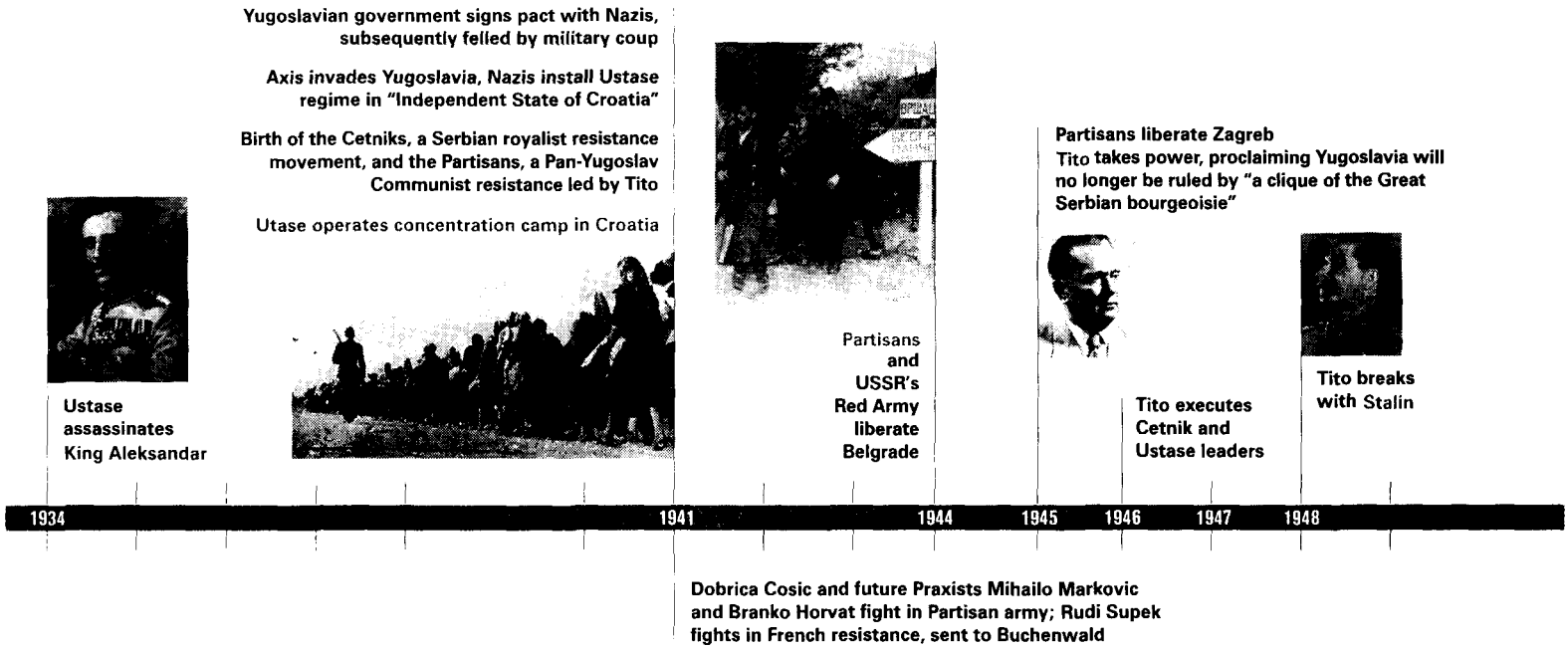
Yugoslavian government signs pact with Nazis, subsequently felled by military coup
Axis invades Yugoslavia, Nazis install Ustase regime in "Independent State of Croatia"
Birth of the Cetniks, a Serbian royalist resistance movement, and the Partisans, a Pan-Yugoslav Communist resistance led by Tito
Utase operates concentration camp in Croatia
Partisans liberate Zagreb
Tito takes power, proclaiming Yugoslavia will no longer be ruled by "a clique of the Great Serbian bourgeoisie"
Ustase assassinates King Aleksandar
Partisans and USSR's Red Army liberate Belgrade
Tito executes Cetnik and Ustase leaders
Tito breaks with Stalin
1934
1941
1944
1945
1946
1947
1948
Dobrica Cosic and future Praxists Mihailo Markovic and Branko Horvat fight in Partisan army; Rudi Supek fights in French resistance, sent to Buchenwald

PASSIONATE EXPONENTS ABROAD AND ITS FIERCEST INTERNAL CRITICS.

tigation, the faculty stood united behind him, and he was permitted to keep his job.

With the enthusiastic support of the Belgrade Praxists, student demonstrations convulsed the University of Belgrade in June 1968. The students protested their poor living conditions and demanded an end to authoritarianism, unemployment, and, for good measure, the Vietnam War. Local Serbian authorities urged Tito to send military troops onto the Belgrade campus. After all, it was that same summer that Soviet tanks would put an end to popular protests in Prague. But unlike his ham-fisted counterparts in Moscow, Tito deployed a feline cunning to dispense with his foes. In a televised appeal, he proclaimed himself deeply sympathetic to the activists' concerns. In fact, he said, it was only Yugoslavia's bureaucracy that stood in the way of the agenda he and the students shared. If the bureaucrats did not allow him to meet these students' demands, he declared, he would resign. Of course, the demands were not met, and Tito did not resign. In fact, only two weeks after he gave this speech, he urged the University of Belgrade to dismiss its Praxis philosophers on the grounds that they were "corrupting" students. The plight of those philosophers, known as the Belgrade 8, became a matter of international concern.

That summer was particularly memorable at Korcula. Richard Bernstein, now a political philosopher at the New School for Social Research, recalls, "Everybody who was a significant leftist, in the East or in the West, came to the 1968 meeting. All the leaders of the student movements in Germany, Eastern Europe, and the United States were there." But even as the editorial boards of *Praxis* and *The New Left Review* sunned themselves on the beaches of Korcula, the Belgrade 8 held on to their jobs by a slender thread.

THROUGHOUT this period, the Yugoslav government was undergoing a subtle but significant shift. From the end of World War II until 1966, Tito's main challenge had been to consolidate his unwieldy multinational state. Even within his inner circle, debates raged over whether Yugoslavia's six constituent republics—Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia—should be granted greater autonomy or tethered more firmly to a central authority. History had taught that in the Balkans one ignored these questions at one's peril: The short-lived first Yugoslavia (1918–1941) opted for a rigid centralism; the state was governed by a Serbian monarchy and the country's military, culture, and politics were overwhelmingly dominated by Serbs. Throughout those years of oppression, Croatia smoldered with resentments—and during World War II, the latent animosities exploded. Under fascist leadership, Croatia pursued a genocidal campaign against Serbs as well as Jews. The savagery of the killings shocked even German SS officers stationed in the Balkans.

With this history in mind, Tito's regime walked a fine line between a strong central state, which was by and large favored by Serbs, and a loose confederation of republics, which was generally favored by Croats and Slovenes. Centralism prevailed in the early postwar years, but momentum started to build in the other direction in the mid-1960s. A new set of constitutional arrangements slowly took shape, offering greater autonomy to each republic. But this did not appease those who favored a looser confederation. A Croatian nationalist movement was born of the sentiment that the reforms of the late 1960s had not gone far enough. Among the activists' grievances was that Croatia, which was more industrialized and generally wealthier than Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia, carried more than its share of Yugoslavia's economic burden. Extremists advocated Croatian secession. Students, intellectuals, and even local Communist authorities gathered around a Croatian cultural society

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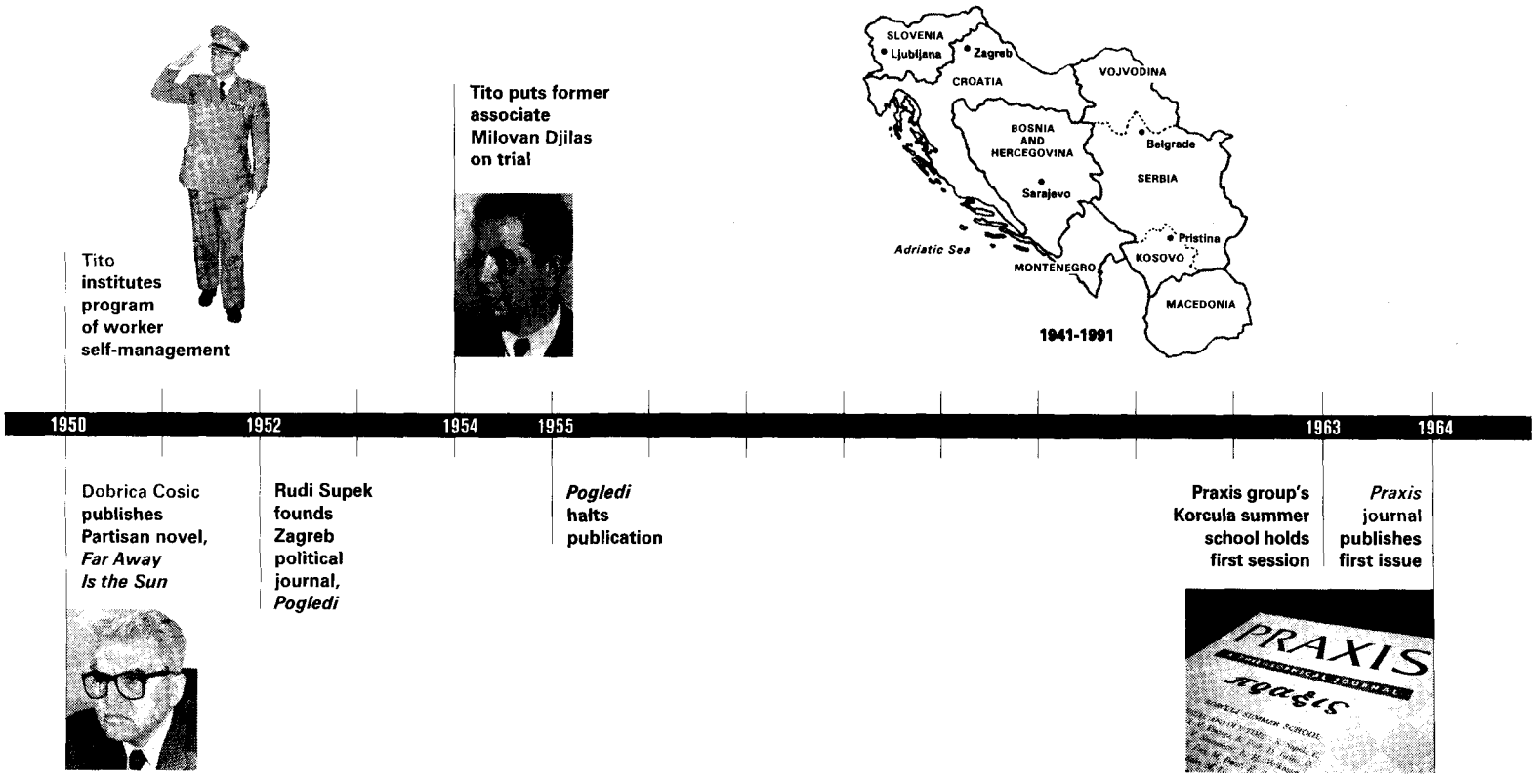

called Matica Hrvatska until Tito disbanded the group, purged its participants from political life, and arrested student leaders.

Watching the growing nationalist militancy of their fellow Croatian academics, the Zagreb Praxists were horrified. And for this very reason, Tito suddenly found these Praxists indispensable: After all, nationalism was a greater threat to the fragile nation than Marxist critique would ever be, and the members of the Zagreb group were outspoken and eloquent against the greater evil. So even while the Belgrade Praxists, who were associated with student unrest, appealed to the international community for protection, their Zagreb counterparts, who were associated with the fight against Croatian nationalism, continued their work in peace.

Against this backdrop, *Praxis* published a special issue on nationalism in 1968. It was the high tide of the journal's resistance to the politics of ethnic identity. In one essay, Ljubomir Tadic, himself a Bosnian Serb, argued that nationalism contradicted the very notion of universal humanity. In place of justice, the nationalist asserts the right of the strong to dominate the weak and the power of violence to resolve conflict. "One quickly forgets," Tadic wrote, "that Serbian and Croatian nationalisms...have remained militant, despotic ideologies that lack political and cultural creativity in all their forms." Where social justice and political liberty were in decline, Tadic theorized, nationalism would emerge ascendant. But socialist Yugoslavia had demonstrated "the superiority of proletarian class-consciousness over nationalist consciousness, [and] the advantage of democratic unity over imposed unity or forced disintegration."

Other contributors were equally impassioned. Danko Grlic, a Croat, vividly evoked the irrationality of nationalism. Once unleashed, he warned, it would be impervious to logic: "You do not reason or theorize about the nation; for the nation you only struggle and die; you love the nation as the flesh of your flesh, as the essence of your being, drinking it with your mother's milk; it is body and blood...."

THE ALLEGIANCE of Praxis to a united Yugoslavia seemed clear enough. But given the ever present threat of government censorship, there was little that Yugoslav intellectuals published in those years that was completely transparent. The Zagreb philosopher Zarko Puhovski, the youngest Praxist by about twenty years, says that the group's disputes over politics and ideology were often disguised as conversations about less controversial questions of aesthetics or ontology. "One kind of debate functioned as a replacement for other kinds of debate," he recalls.

This was particularly evident when Puhovski himself edited a special issue of *Praxis* in 1973. He received a submission from the well-known Serbian novelist Dobrica Cosic. It was a short piece that argued that true socialism was not possible in an unenlightened society and that faith in the people—of which Cosic claimed to have little—was the "last refuge for our historically defeated hopes." Which people and what hopes? The article did not specify. But Puhovski detected a disturbing nationalist message all the same. Nor was he impressed with the article's argument or its rigor: "I had the junior approach of believing that philosophy and sociology were specialized fields," he recounts with a touch of sarcasm. "I didn't think Cosic's piece was up to the level. It was bad nationalist propaganda." He turned it down.

His elders chided him that he simply did not understand how important a figure

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Tito purges Vice President Aleksandar Rankovic, **highest-ranking Serb and proponent of centralized state**

Tito suppresses Croatian nationalist movement

Major constitutional reforms grant greater authority to Yugoslavia's six republics and autonomy to Serbia's provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina

Yugoslavian economy begins decline

1966 1967 1968 1971 1973 1974 1975 1976 1977 1978 1979

University of Belgrade's Ljubomir Tadic **criticizes Tito at Philosophy faculty meeting**

Student demonstrations in Belgrade

Tito attempts to suppress Belgrade 8

Special issue of *Praxis* devoted to nationalism

Dobrica Cosic expelled from Central Committee of Communist Party

***Praxis* publishes controversial article by Dobrica Cosic**

***Praxis* banned; University of Belgrade fires the Belgrade 8**

Belgrade students protest constitutional reforms as anti-Marxist; Dobrica Cosic protests reforms as anti-Serb

Gerson Sher publishes *Praxis: Marxist Criticism and Dissent in Socialist Yugoslavia*

Cosic publishes Serbian nationalist novel, *A Time of Death*

Jürgen Habermas and Richard Bernstein meet with Praxis members at Inter-University Center in Dubrovnik

Cosic was. Cosic was best known as the author of Yugoslavia's most celebrated Partisan war novel, *Far Away Is the Sun* (1950), in which a company of Partisan soldiers affirm their commitment to Yugoslavism and Communism by executing a Serbian nationalist in their midst. But Cosic's colors had begun to change: In 1968 he had been expelled from the Central Committee for accusing the regime of fostering Albanian separatism in Kosovo. Even so, he would not be widely considered a nationalist writer until the late 1970s and early 1980s, when he published a series of novels that explicitly addressed Serbian history and grievances. At that time, he cut such a distinguished figure in Belgrade that he was frequently called the father of the Serbian nation.

As the 1973 issue of *Praxis* neared press time, Puhovski was on his own: The editorial board split seven to one in Cosic's favor.

THE APPEARANCE of nationalist tensions within the Praxis group was a harbinger of tensions that would soon spread across the country. Years later, when war raged in Kosovo, American newspapers would plug 1989, the year Milosevic revoked Kosovo's autonomy, as the beginning of the end of Yugoslavia. But many Serbs would say the country's fate was sealed as early as 1974. That was the year a controversial revision of the Yugoslav constitution went into effect, devolving broader powers than ever before to the six republics and granting full autonomy to two provinces within the republic of Serbia: Kosovo and Vojvodina. Since the Serbs were scattered across the republics—more than a million lived in Bosnia and at least 500,000 in Croatia—these constitutional reforms were to feed a growing sense of grievance among the Serbs.

In Belgrade, two strains of protest greeted the 1974 constitution. A student strike seized the university campus in the name of Marxist ideals: Where, the students asked, were the pan-Yugoslav interests of the working class reflected in this new constitution? The students feared that the reform, with its emphasis on divisions among the republics, would weaken Yugoslavia's socialist unity by opening a Pandora's box of ethnic grievances and demands. As if to prove the students right, other critics of the constitution, including Dobrica Cosic, protested that it unfairly disempowered the Serbs.

In subsequent years, Serbian nationalists would bitterly complain that Tito's policy had been "A weak Serbia is a strong Yugoslavia." But why shouldn't it have been? Of the country's six official nations, the Serbs were far and away the most populous, outnumbering the Croats two to one. If multinational Yugoslavia's culture and politics were to be governed by majority rule, the country would not survive: The non-Serb populations had strongly developed national identities and long, distinct histories of their own. Not only that, but they occupied more compact territories than did the Serbs. If they felt overly dominated, they could be tempted to secede. So Tito restrained the potentially overweening influence of the Serbs by dividing Yugoslavia into territorial units and constantly readjusting the internal balance of power.

Today, some critics blame the constitution of 1974 for the growth of nationalist movements in Croatia and Slovenia. More likely, it was a response to the nationalist movements that were already stirring. In any case, the most scathing criticism was leveled by the Serb nationalists: The new constitution rested on a double standard.

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Tito dies

Riots break out in Kosovo; ethnic Albanians demand independence from Serbia

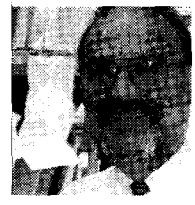
Nationalist sentiment rises in Serbia: Tens of thousands attend funeral of Serb politician Aleksandar Rankovic

1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984

Ljubomir Tadic and Dobrica Cosic unsuccessfully attempt to start new political journal

Praxis International publishes first issue; Mihailo Markovic and Richard Bernstein serve as editors

David Crocker publishes *Praxis and Democratic Socialism: The Philosophy of Markovic and Stojanovic*



Dobrica Cosic and the Belgrade 8 form committee to defend freedom of expression

Croatian Praxist Branko Horvat nominated for Nobel Prize in economics

"THE QUESTION OF ETHNICITY WAS IRRELEVANT," RECALLS SEYLA BENHABIB. ASKING, 'ARE YOU ITALIAN AMERICAN OR IRISH AMERICAN?' IT WAS MORE

If Yugoslavia's units of political participation were its ethnic groups, or "constituent nations," then the Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia, who were represented by Muslim and Croatian leadership, respectively, went unrepresented. But if the units were territorial, then why was Serbia the only republic whose territory included autonomous provinces over which it had little control?

The truth was very simple: In multinational Yugoslavia, Tito had deliberately redistributed power from the strong to the weak. And if his belief really was that a strong Yugoslavia required a weak Serbia, perhaps he was not mistaken. Much later, in 1989, when Milosevic finally did enforce Serbian control of its provinces, Serbia emerged strong—and Yugoslavia fell to pieces. The terrible irony in all of this is that the geographically dispersed Serbs may have benefited more than anyone from the years of Serbia's weakness. For of all the Yugoslav nations, only the Serbs needed a unified Yugoslavia more than it needed them.

IF 1974 marked the beginning of Yugoslavia's national crisis, it also augured the end of the Praxis group's legal existence. Tito purged the Belgrade 8 from the university the following year. The six-year-long struggle between the state and the professors had simply exhausted itself. Not only were the Belgrade 8 suspended from teaching, but the journal *Praxis* was also banned. This time, the protests of American academics (including Noam Chomsky, Daniel Bell, and Stanley Hoffman) fell on deaf ears.

For more than a decade, the Belgrade 8—Mihailo Markovic, Svetozar Stojanovic, Ljubomir Tadic, Zagorka Golubovic, Dragoljub Micunovic, Miladin Zivotic, Nebojsa Popov, and Trivo Indjic—wandered the globe, accepting visiting professorships abroad and meeting secretly in Belgrade. Only Indjic accepted the government's offer of a low-profile post at an institute. The others insisted on nothing less than a full return to the University of Belgrade, which was not forthcoming. Markovic, the group's best-known member abroad, took a part-time philosophy post at the University of Pennsylvania. Stojanovic taught at Berkeley and at the University of Kansas. Meanwhile, in Zagreb, the situation was slightly less dire. "There were pressures," remembers Zarko Puhovski. "I couldn't publish for two years. But it was nothing remotely like the situation in Belgrade."

The rest of the 1970s and the early 1980s were disappointing years for the Belgrade 8. They organized what they called the Free University, which mostly consisted of seminars held in private homes, but they could not advertise these meetings, and they were constantly on guard for police interruption. At least one Free University session convened at the novelist Dobrica Cosic's house. Neither a Marxist nor a philosopher, Cosic was a personal friend and shadowy influence on the Praxis group although never an actual member. In the 1980s, his ties to Praxis pulled tighter; but to what extent the Praxists already shared his incipient nationalism remains a mystery. Cosic collaborated with Tadic on two projects in the early 1980s: One, a proposed journal that would criticize bureaucracy and champion freedom of expression, was immediately suppressed by the government; the other, a petition against censorship laws, was also swiftly defeated. The government press denounced Cosic and his Praxis friends as "hardened nationalists and open advocates of a multi-party system," but the group continued to convene as a committee to promote freedom of expression.

Meanwhile, Yugoslavia had gone into a deep economic slump: Foreign debt had skyrocketed to $19 billion, unemployment was up to 17.5 percent, inflation topped

JOVAN RITOPECKI/TANJUG/VREME; SRDJAN ILIC/VREME, COURTESY JERRY SPEIER, COURTESY KAREN LOGAN

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1985 — Kosovo Serbs campaign for protection from Albanians

1986 — Draft Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences leaked to the press

Mihailo Markovic, Ljubomir Tadic, and Zagorka Golubovic sign petition in support of Kosovo Serbs; Branka Magas responds harshly in *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*

1987 — Milosevic travels to Kosovo and expresses support for Kosovo Serbs

1988 — Nationalist demonstrations in Slovenia

Branko Horvat supports Kosovo's bid for republican status; Belgrade press denounces him

1989 — Milosevic curtails autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina

Seyla Benhabib and Svetozar Stojanovic take over editorship of *Praxis International*

Branko Horvat, Rudi Supek, and Zarko Puhovski co-found pro-democracy, anti-nationalist group in Zagreb; organization's Belgrade branch includes only one Praxist, Nebojsa Popov

"THEY WERE ALL YUGOSLAVS. TO US OUTSIDERS, IT WASN'T EVEN LIKE LIKE ASKING, 'ARE YOU BAVARIAN OR FROM BERLIN?'"

120 percent, and the standard of living precipitously declined. The Yugoslav experiment no longer enjoyed the prestige in the West it once had. And in 1980, Tito's death left the rickety multinational structure leaderless and volatile.

In Kosovo, the Albanian majority, which was largely poor, uneducated, and powerless, had grown restive. The Albanians had never had the status of Yugoslavia's other "constituent nations": Tito's regime reasoned that because there was an Albanian homeland outside Yugoslavia, they should be considered a "national minority" instead. The Kosovars countered that fully 40 percent of the world's Albanian population resided in Yugoslavia. Demonstrations swept the province in 1981, demanding first and foremost that Kosovo be granted the status of a republic, including the right to secede. The movement reached a fever pitch: Serbs and Montenegrins were attacked and threatened, Orthodox holy sites were desecrated, and some activists began to call for secession and union with Albania. Yugoslav police squelched the riots, imposing a state of martial law whose severity scandalized Croatian and Slovenian intellectuals. A great many Albanians languished as political prisoners in Kosovo's jails. Meanwhile, the province's Serb minority felt increasingly scapegoated and threatened.

WITH PRAXIS driven underground, the Korcula summer school, needless to say, was long since over. But something new had begun: The Inter-University Center, in the majestic Croatian city of Dubrovnik, was an international institution that sponsored conferences and short courses run by intellectuals from all over the world. Because it was not managed by Yugoslavs, it was relatively free from government interference. Once again, prominent Western leftists crossed the Adriatic. One of the Praxists approached Jürgen Habermas about teaching a course in Dubrovnik as a way of reviving the spirit of Korcula. The revered German philosopher and heir to the Frankfurt School returned to Yugoslavia with Richard Bernstein to co-teach a course in 1979. The Praxis group, however dispirited, reconvened in Dubrovnik, where it encountered a new set of sympathetic leftists from the West. Seyla Benhabib remembers that she went to Dubrovnik in 1979 in order to get to know Bernstein and Habermas. That she also encountered the Praxis group was merely a happy accident. All she knew about the Praxists' activities at that time was that "they had been expelled and gone into the opposition."

It was in Dubrovnik that Habermas, Bernstein, and German philosopher Albrecht Wellmer hatched a plan to revive the Praxis journal that had so interested them in the 1960s. To provide the disfranchised dissidents with a new, international forum for their work could only do the cause of democratic socialism good, the Western philosophers figured. Together with Markovic and Stojanovic, they launched *Praxis International* in 1981.

The new journal attempted to pick up where the old one had left off but with a less Yugoslav focus: It included many *Praxis*-style theoretical essays on Marxism and, as the 1980s wore on, it covered Eastern European countries in transition. Produced mostly in the United States and published by Blackwell, the journal was far more eclectic than the first *Praxis* had been: Contributions in the late 1980s and early 1990s addressed the political thought of Cornel West, the relationship between feminism and socialism, and other topics of general interest to left-leaning intellectuals.

By this time, Mihailo Markovic was clearly the Yugoslav group's leader, and he came to play a crucial role in the revived journal. A fluent English speaker, he was gregarious,

TOMISLAV PETERNEK: TANJUGPHOTO/EASTPHOTO; LAURA WOLF/HARVARD NEWS OFFICE

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Slovenes walk out of Yugoslav parliament
Right-wing nationalist Franjo Tudjman assumes Croatian presidency
Serbia revokes autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina
Albanian demonstrations in Kosovo suppressed; state of emergency declared
Slovenia gains independence after ten-day war with Serbs
Croatia declares independence; Serbo-Croat war breaks out
Serbian troops raze city of Vukovar
Milosevic and Tudjman secretly agree to partition Bosnia-Hercegovina
Cease-fire halts Serb-Croat war
Bosnian Serbs boycott referendum on Bosnia's independence
Serb shelling of Sarajevo begins
UN Security Council imposes military blockade on Yugoslavia
Journalists discover Serb-run concentration camps in Bosnia
Albanian shadow government elected in Kosovo
Muslim-Croat war breaks out in Bosnia
Croatian concentration camps operate in Bosnia
Siege of Sarajevo continues
Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic rejects Contact Group peace plan
Milosevic blockades Bosnian Serbs
1990
1991
1992
1993
1994
Ljubomir Tadic, Dragoljub Micunovic, and Zoran Djindjic co-found Serbia's opposition Democratic Party (DS)
Mass demonstrations held in Belgrade against regime
Praxis International publishes Markovic's anti-Albanian article on Kosovo
Markovic becomes vice president of Milosevic's governing Socialist Party
Opposition demonstrators attacked by police in Belgrade; Dragoljub Micunovic wounded
Milovan Djilas and Miladin Zivotic co-found the Belgrade Circle
Dobrica Cosic becomes president of Yugoslavia, picks Svetozar Stojanovic as top advisor
Nebojsa Popov co-founds Serbia's opposition Civic Alliance of Serbia
Branka Magas publishes The Destruction of Yugoslavia: Tracking the Break-Up 1980–1992
Dobrica Cosic ousted from Yugoslav presidency
Miladin Zivotic makes solidarity visit to besieged Sarajevo
Belgrade Circle invites Muslim army generals to discuss Bosnian war with activists in Belgrade
Praxis International publishes its final issue
Zoran Djindjic replaces Dragoljub Micunovic as president of DS

T: REUTERS/NEAL C. LAURON/ARCHIVE, TANJUGPHOTO/EASTFOTO, CORBIS/DAVID TURNLEY
B: MILENKO BADZIC/SYGMA, PROMETHEUS BOOKS

cosmopolitan, and urbane. Both his anti-Stalinist and his antifascist credentials were impeccable: He had fought in Tito's Partisan army during World War II and prided himself on extending aid to Yugoslav Jews. In his philosophical work, Markovic emphasized Marx's commitment to human dignity, freedom, and self-realization.

Bernstein and Markovic became close friends over the course of their joint stewardship of the journal. David Crocker, a philosopher at the University of Maryland and the author of *Praxis and Democratic Socialism: The Critical Social Theory of Markovic and Stojanovic* (1983), also came to consider Markovic a personal friend. Only Andrew Arato, a professor of sociology at the New School, had an instinctive dislike for the elder Serb. Markovic reminded him of an apparatchik. "He was clearly an authoritarian personality. I remember once he kept me outside in a snowstorm for forty minutes, trying to convince me that political parties were a bad thing," Arato says with a laugh. "He wouldn't let me in the restaurant—as if by the sheer force of his personality, he would persuade me that democracy didn't need to work through parties." Other Belgrade Praxists, he says, were very much in Markovic's thrall. "But when they were not together with Mihailo, one could talk to them about everything. They were more flexible and more Western."

Of the Zagreb Praxists, very few of the old-timers were enthusiastic about the Belgrade group's new publishing venture. Zagreb's elder statesmen, Rudi Supek and Gajo Petrovic, attended the first meeting. Supek was amenable to the new journal; but Petrovic felt strongly that the name *Praxis* should not be used. *Praxis*, Petrovic argued, connoted a joint Belgrade-Zagreb

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UN War crimes tribunal indicts Bosnian Serb General Ratko Mladic and Karadzic

Serbs assault UN "safe area" of Srebrenica, murdering thousands

Croatia launches "Operation Storm," expelling more than 150,000 Serbs from Krajina

NATO bombs Bosnian Serb targets

Dayton Peace Agreement ends the Bosnian war

Milovan Djilas dies

In Kosovo, KLA begins to attack Serbian police and civilian targets

Clashes between KLA and Serbian police escalate

Zoran Djindjic becomes mayor of Belgrade, ousted later in year

Zajedno opposition coalition falls apart

Serbian security forces begin offensive against KLA

In a referendum, 95 percent of Serbs oppose international intervention in Kosovo

NATO threatens air strikes to halt Serb offensive in Kosovo

Milosevic cracks down on media, universities, and NGOs in Belgrade

KLA and Serb police violate Kosovo ceasefire

Milosevic regime rejects Rambouillet peace deal

NATO bombards Serbia

Serb police and military drive hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians from their homes, killing thousands

June 9 peace deal ends war; Serb troops leave Kosovo

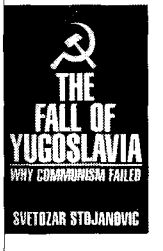
1995 1996 1997 1998 1999

Milosevic purges Markovic and other hard-liners from power

DS, Serbian Renewal Party, and Civic Alliance form Zajedno coalition, leading opposition rallies in Belgrade

Belgrade Circle criticizes opposition demonstrators for nationalist sentiments

Svetozar Stojanovic publishes *The Fall of Yugoslavia: Why Communism Failed*



Nebojsa Popov starts cooking beans in central Belgrade

The Belgrade Circle organizes round-table on Albanian-Serbian relations and international conference on Serbo-Croat relations

Miladin Zivotic dies

The Belgrade Circle protests repression of universities and media

Deputy Prime Minister Vojislav Seselj threatens to hold Belgrade Circle members hostage if NATO bombs Serbia

Dobrica Cosic calls for Milosevic to resign

Mihailo Markovic remains loyal to Milosevic; blames Serbia's enemies for destroying country

The Belgrade Circle survives the war

REUTERS/ARCHIVE PHOTOS; AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS; REUTERS/IVAN MILUTINOVIC/ARCHIVE PHOTOS; AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS; CORBIS/AFP (2); B. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

publication, whose international component came at the Yugoslavs' invitation. This new journal, however, was to be published in English and dominated by Belgraders and Americans. It was international before it was Yugoslav, and for this reason, he insisted, it should have a new name and a new identity. Perhaps Petrovic also sensed that his Belgrade colleagues had changed and that political consensus was a thing of the past. If he did, he did not say so.

Praxis International's American editors were not particularly perturbed that, with the exception of Supek, they had lost the Zagreb contingent. Says Seyla Benhabib, "The question of ethnicity was irrelevant. They were all Yugoslavs. To us outsiders, it wasn't even like asking, 'Are you Italian American or Irish American?' It was more like asking, 'Are you Bavarian or from Berlin?'"

YUGOSLAVIA'S six republics and two autonomous provinces were already on a collision course by the mid-1980s, but even the most astute Western observers did not perceive what lay ahead. The most visible sign of trouble was in Kosovo, where martial law had only stoked the flames of ethnic strife. The Serb minority clamored for Belgrade's attention: In 1985 Kosovo's Serbs sent a petition to the central government, claiming that Serbs had been raped, murdered, and driven from their homes by the province's ethnic Albanians. Couldn't Belgrade do something?

To what extent Kosovo's Serbs were persecuted remains debatable. To be sure, they were outnumbered, and there is no reason to doubt that they faced threats, vandalism, harassment, and even the occasional act of criminal violence from an

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Albanian majority that deeply resented Slavic rule. But to Yugoslavs outside Serbia, complaints of anti-Serb discrimination in Kosovo were incomprehensible. After all, Serbs were hardly an oppressed group in the nation as a whole, whereas the Albanians formed something of an underclass.

So it was a surprise to many of the Belgrade Praxists' admirers when three key members of the group—Markovic, Tadic, and Zagorka Golubovic—signed a 1986 petition in support of the Kosovo Serbs. Cosic also signed. It was not just that the petition painted a florid picture of Serbian suffering in the southern province. It was also that the signatories obliquely urged the government to revoke Kosovo's autonomous status—something Serbian nationalists had been pushing the parliament to do. After all, the petitioners reasoned, with its "unselfish" aid to the impoverished province, Serbia had amply demonstrated that it took the Albanians' interests to heart. Ominously, the petition's authors intoned: "Genocide [against Kosovo's Serbs] cannot be prevented by...[the] politics of gradual surrender of Kosovo...to Albania: the unsigned capitulation which leads to a politics of national treason."

When Branka Magas, a historian who had emigrated from Yugoslavia in 1961, saw the petition, she was alarmed. She republished it, along with her own devastating critique, in the British journal *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*. Magas's essay was called "The End of an Era," and she signed it with an assumed name that disguised her Croatian background. "This unexpected, indeed astonishing, alignment of *Praxis* editors with nationalism," she wrote, "has aroused considerable dismay among their friends and sympathizers, for it delineates a complete break with the political and philosophical tradition represented by the journal."

According to Magas, the editors of *Labour Focus* were skeptical. Mihailo Markovic's reputation as a humanist preceded him. Could there be some mistake? The editors sent Magas's piece to the Praxists for a response. Markovic, Tadic, and Golubovic were outraged. They had not abandoned their ideals, they wrote. They pointed out that they continued to publish *Praxis International*, a journal dedicated to democratic socialism, and that they served on Cosic's committee for freedom of expression. They insisted that they spoke out against repression, no matter what the victims' ethnic background: "Are we nationalists because we also write on national issues (which are very acute in Yugoslavia now), or because we, being Serbs, also defend Serbian victims of repression?"

To Magas, this exchange sent up a red flag. The rhetoric of Serbian victimhood, she noticed, was disturbingly similar to the rhetoric of a document that had recently been leaked to the Yugoslav press: the draft Memorandum of the influential Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences. The Memorandum was what the *New York Times* reporter Roger Cohen has called "an incendiary catalog of Serbian resentments and ambitions." Its authors claimed that Serbs outside Serbia were in grave danger, that Yugoslavia was disintegrating, and that despite Serbia's superior contribution to the winning side in World War

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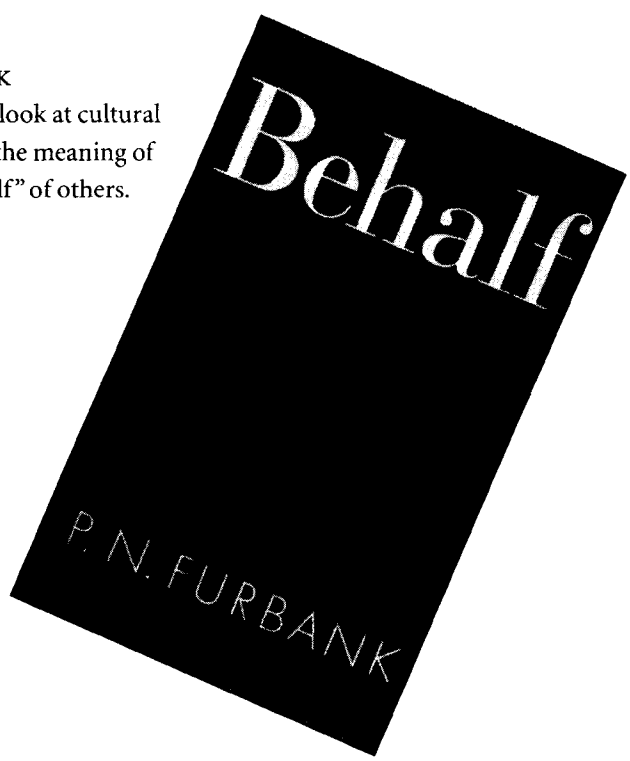

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"THIS UNEXPECTED, INDEED ASTONISHING, ALIGNMENT OF PRAXIS EDITORS WITH NATIONALISM," BRANKA MAGAS WROTE, "DELINEATES A COMPLETE BREAK WITH THE POLITICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITION REPRESENTED BY THE JOURNAL."

II, its people were divided and underrepresented in post-1974 Yugoslavia. Many analysts have described the seventy-four-page document as the catalyst for Milosevic's rise to power: It provided the conceptual blueprint for a Greater Serbia.

Magas later discovered that one of its authors was Mihailo Markovic.

IN 1989, Seyla Benhabib took over the American editorship of *Praxis International*. At the time, she knew that conflict was brewing over Kosovo, but she did not yet understand its history or its dimensions. Her Praxis colleagues were little help. It was curious, she thought, that Svetozar Stojanovic, her Yugoslav co-editor, never wrote about recent developments in his own country.

Virtually all of Praxis's Western collaborators remember Stojanovic as the most ideologically flexible of the Belgrade group. While Markovic cleaved to Marx's 1844 *Manuscripts*, Stojanovic explored the possibility of a limited free market. He was the only Praxist seriously to investigate liberalism, and in a 1971 *Praxis* essay, he had dared to criticize Tito as a "charismatic leader." Remembers Arato, "Stojanovic was more talented than Markovic, and Markovic was the boss."

But when Benhabib brought up Kosovo in 1989, Stojanovic seemed annoyed and stunned. "Why do you want to know about Kosovo?" he asked. Benhabib replied, "There is a conflict there, and we don't understand what that conflict is about." Said Stojanovic, "Have we ever written about the Palestinian conflict in *Praxis*?" It was Benhabib's turn to be uncomfortable. "Sveta," she remembers saying, "what are you talking about?"

"Well, you know," he reasoned, "a lot of our editorial board members are Jewish. There are just some issues we don't touch."

But, Benhabib protested, *Praxis International* did not avoid the Palestinian conflict because some of its editors were Jewish. It did so because the Middle East did not fall within its purview. Questions of nationality in Marxist countries, on the other hand, were obviously germane. Stojanovic relented. However, Benhabib notes, "when the article about Kosovo was written, Sveta, who was a moderate man, did not write it himself. It was Mihailo."

Publishing Markovic's Kosovo article, Benhabib says now, is the one editorial decision she truly regrets. The piece, which appeared in 1990, begins in an eminently reasonable tone. Nationalists on both sides of this debate, Markovic declared, have failed to listen to each other's arguments. It was time to evaluate the facts.

The Albanians, Markovic calmly explained, are a backward, clannish people who have proven incapable of lifting themselves from poverty. The other Yugoslav republics have poured endless funds into Kosovo, but without results. The reason for this is both simple and sinister: Albanian nationalists have adopted a rapid birthrate as a demographic weapon against the Serbs. As a result of this scheme and of fiscal mismanagement by corrupt Albanian leaders, there are simply too many Kosovar mouths to feed. Compounding these economic problems is an ideological rift. The ethnic Albanians did not fight alongside the Yugoslav Partisans in World War II; for this reason, Markovic lamented, the populace never accepted the socialist revolution, and worse, it nurtures fascist tendencies left over from the Axis occupation.

But the most incredible piece of Markovic's argument was yet to come. It might seem, Markovic mused, that the Albanians are just a small, poor, oppressed minority. But the truth is that throughout history the Albanians have had great powers on their side, while Serbia limped along on her own two feet. And just who were the Kosovo Albanians' powerful protectors? The Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary, Italy, the Vatican, Great Britain, the Comintern, the United States, Pan-Islamic fundamentalism, Albania, and a cabal of bureaucrats in the Yugoslav government.

Some extreme solutions might suggest themselves, Markovic noted: violent police repression and compulsory family planning, for instance, or a partition and "exchange of population" that would leave the mineral-rich north of Kosovo to Serbia and the rest to Albania. But Markovic drew back from these possibilities. He proposed instead that autonomy be maintained, that investment in the province be scaled back, and that family planning be instituted "in a gentle and psychologically acceptable way, and by the Albanians themselves, using primarily educational means."

In today's light, the article is chilling. Benhabib is most struck now by the passage about the Albanians' birthrate and their subsequent abject poverty. "This is cliché neofascist thinking, racist thinking about an oppressed group. You will find racists everywhere saying the same thing." But back in 1990, the alarm bells somehow failed to sound. Benhabib knew very little about Kosovo, and to find out more, she had asked Stojanovic to commission a piece.

"Sometimes I felt like webs were being spun around me," Benhabib says now.

Not long after Markovic's article appeared, Yugoslavia began its bloody disintegration. In 1991, Slovenia and then Croatia declared independence, touching off the Serbo-Croat war. Benhabib was in Frankfurt then, and people started approaching her about her colleague Markovic, who by this time was vice president and ideologue of Milosevic's socialist party. "We'd run into individuals who would say, 'Are you aware of what you are doing?'" she recalls. But it was after Bosnia ignited in 1992 that Benhabib became really uncomfortable. "We were being instrumentalized for prestige and credit," she now believes. The last straw was an interview Markovic gave *The New York Times* in August 1992: "I don't understand why there is so much opposition to cantonization," he told the reporter, regarding the partition of Bosnia. "The alternative is creation of a Muslim state in the heart of Europe. Perhaps the Americans want to support this.... But we find this very disturbing."

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By 1993, Benhabib says, "we found that the situation had gotten too dirty, morally and politically." The only way out was to stop publishing the journal and to cut ties with Stojanovic and Markovic. *Praxis International* published its last issue, "The Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia: Stations of a European Tragedy," in January 1994; it included Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian perspectives on Yugoslavia's disintegration. Richard Bernstein's friendship with Markovic was shattered by the Bosnian war. As for Benhabib, she has not kept in touch with Markovic or Stojanovic: Since the breakup, she says, "I have an aversion to following their careers."

IF MIHAILO Markovic was not who his Western friends and collaborators had thought he was, who was he? Did he jettison his humanist beliefs to cozy up to a new regime? Or had he been a wolf in sheep's clothing all along?

"Many people have read Markovic as being a cynic and a betrayer of Praxis," says Bernstein. But in Markovic's distorted vision, Bernstein suspects, "Serbia represented the progressive element of Yugoslav society"—the element bent on keeping Yugoslavia united and on preserving its socialist structure. Over time, he lost all perspective. "That's the tragedy of Mihailo Markovic," says Bernstein. "Instead of seeing the dark and ugly side of Serbian nationalism, he committed himself to it."

The full measure of that commitment was apparent when Markovic became the vice president of Milosevic's party in 1991. David Crocker saw his old friend at a conference in Africa that year. Why, Crocker asked, had he joined the Serbian government? The philosopher's answer was simple: "I got involved in politics to save the Serbs in eastern Croatia." Otherwise, Markovic claimed, "they will be slaughtered."

What on earth had made him think such a thing? But he was not alone. By 1992, the terms of political debate in Yugoslavia had undergone a dramatic shift. No longer was it a question of exactly how tightly the six republics and two autonomous provinces should be yoked to Belgrade's central authority. As Communism crumbled across the former Eastern bloc, the Yugoslavs began to revive their own pre-Communist paradigms. But in Yugoslavia, these paradigms were extreme and unworkable, drawing on the country's ugliest memories and worst fears: a Serb-dominated unitary state, which non-Serbs remembered bitterly from the first Yugoslavia; and the fratricidal killing fields of World War II, in which Serbs were overwhelmingly victimized. It seemed increasingly impossible for the country either to stay together in multinational form or to break apart without apocalyptic destruction.

Looking back now on the 1968 nationalism issue of *Praxis,* what appeared to be an antinationalist consensus starts to take a more ambiguous shape. Both the Serbs and the Croats repudiated the then-ascendant Croatian nationalist movement and supported the continuance of a united Yugoslavia. For the Croats, this stance was explicitly opposed to that of Croatian nationalism. But for the Serbs, the position was compatible with both a principled antinationalism *and* their own national interest: After all, Yugoslavia was really the only viable option for keeping the Serbs

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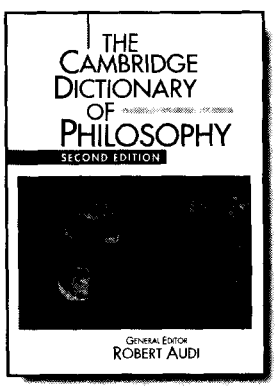

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in one state. This is to say not that Markovic, Tadic, and the others were hoping to create a Greater Serbia back in 1968—but that they didn't need such a hope. Yugoslavia was perfectly comfortable. The Croats may have seriously grappled with the issues of ethnicity and nation in Yugoslavia in 1968. But the Serbs who blithely upheld Yugoslavism did so with all the arrogance, however well intentioned, of any majority.

Furthermore, whatever else the Praxists were, they were Marxists. In Croatia, to go on being a Marxist—or a Yugoslavist—placed one in opposition to the right-wing nationalist regime of Franjo Tudjman. And indeed, many of the Croatian Praxists have remained strong supporters of human rights: Zarko Puhovski, who is now vice president of Croatia's Helsinki Committee on Human Rights, has raised his voice courageously against the Croatian army's ethnic cleansing campaigns. And the economist Branko Horvat ran for president in 1992 on an antiwar, anti-authoritarian platform.

But for the Serb Praxists, the situation was different: To continue to support the country's socialist forces was to ally oneself with Milosevic's government, and to oppose Milosevic, it seemed, was to oppose what was left of Yugoslav communism. "His world fell apart," Benhabib says of Markovic. "Liberalism was unacceptable. He did not want free-market capitalism." Certainly, the new opposition parties, most of which were not only nationalist but also right wing or royalist, would not be acceptable to a Communist of Markovic's generation. He apparently decided that Milosevic represented the future of Yugoslav socialism. After all, Milosevic had inherited the Communist Party apparatus, and his governing socialist party was among the last ones standing in Eastern Europe. Of course, Milosevic had mixed that deadliest of cocktails: socialism and nationalism. Markovic became one of the regime's most outspoken and unrepentant apologists. And then, in 1995, he was purged from power—the government, it seems, had come to see his nationalist views as too extreme.

OF THE Belgrade 8, none disgraced himself as thoroughly as Markovic, but there can be no question that nationalism captured the hearts and minds of many other Praxists. Consider the case of Svetozar Stojanovic and his ally, Dobrica Cosic.

In his 1997 book, *The Fall of Yugoslavia: Why Communism Failed*, Stojanovic wrote that the revolution in his thinking occurred in 1990, when mass graves from Jasenovac, Croatia's World War II–era concentration camp, were disinterred for reburial. Stojanovic found himself confronted by his children's anger: He had never talked to them about Jasenovac before. After all, such memories were suppressed during the Tito years. From that moment on, Stojanovic declared, he decided that his political work should be dedicated to the memory of Jasenovac.

Stojanovic's political career would rise in tandem with that of his close friend, Cosic. In 1992, Milosevic appointed Cosic to a figurehead presidency of the rump Yugoslavia, and Cosic brought Stojanovic in as his top adviser. Many observers inside and outside Yugoslavia hoped that the presence of such reputable, if openly nationalist, figures marked a change of political

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course. Instead, it bought Milosevic a year of improved public relations abroad, while within the government, the moderates' hands were tied.

In his book, Stojanovic condemns the Milosevic regime's criminal activity on nationalist grounds: If one shares in collective pride, he reasons, one must also share in collective shame. And he claims that Cosic protested Milosevic's deployment of brutal paramilitary formations in Croatia and Bosnia. At the same time, however, Stojanovic and Cosic did support Milosevic's territorial aims. Yugoslavia could not be dismembered along the frontiers of its onetime republics, Stojanovic and Cosic argued. A "deeper map," they believed, lay submerged beneath the map of Tito's Yugoslavia; and this true map would account for the swaths of Croatian and Bosnian land that had been populated by Serbs for hundreds of years.

Cosic and Stojanovic were open to various solutions: Croatian independence might have been acceptable, Stojanovic implies, if Croatia had been willing to guarantee substantial autonomy to its Serb-populated territories. In practice, critics would object, such solutions were untenable. There would be autonomy for the Serbs in Croatia; and within that autonomy, should there be autonomy for the Croats in Serbian Croatia? And what, then, of the Serbs in Croatian Serbian Croatia? It is tempting to see this line of reasoning, which leads ineluctably to a *reductio ad infinitum,* as a sophistic device whose real purpose was to force Yugoslavia's reintegration on Serbian terms.

Cosic's presidency lasted only a year, and when he was ousted in 1993, Stojanovic left politics as well. Six years later, in the eerie silence following the Kosovo war, the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences reconvened to consider the Serbian national question. At the June 1999 meeting, Cosic spoke at length of the ruin suffered by the Serb nation. "I appeal to Slobodan Milosevic's patriotic consciousness and civic responsibility to resign in order for indispensable changes in Serbia and the federal state to begin," he concluded.

Markovic took a harder line: "Our tragedy lies not in the fact that this or that person was head of the state. Our tragedy lies in the fact that the great powers have decided to destroy our country."

ALTHOUGH ONLY Stojanovic and Markovic served in the government, most of the Belgrade 8 have been politically active in the 1990s, and only a few have explicitly opposed the politics of Serbian nationalism. Ljubomir Tadic and Dragoljub Micunovic formed Serbia's first democratic opposition party, the DS, in 1990. Although its founders' ties to Praxis gave it the reputation of being the left wing of Serbia's movement for liberal democracy, the DS established strategic alliances with parties on its right, including royalists and hard-line nationalists. The party's leaders explained that these compromises allowed them to make a credible showing in parliamentary elections. But the conversion of Tadic, at least, to nationalism nevertheless seemed complete. He lent his uncritical support to the Bosnian Serbs, even meeting personally with their leader, Radovan Karadzic. With Markovic, Tadic signed a 1996 petition urging The Hague to drop its charges against Karadzic, "the true leader of all

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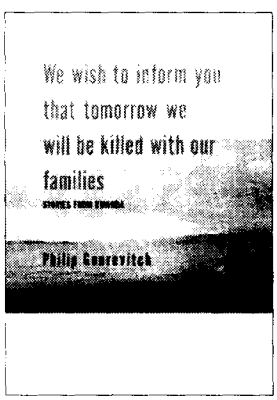

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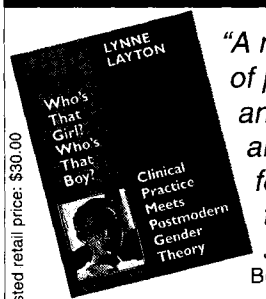

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Serbs." This was a remarkable act for a man who had written so eloquently in 1968 about nationalisms as "militant, despotic ideologies." Gerson Sher, who remembers Tadic's 1967 book, *Order and Freedom,* as a "masterpiece" of humanist thought, says ruefully, "Tadic is the greatest mystery of them all."

Tadic's colleague in the DS, Micunovic, maintained a more moderate reputation. He remained visible in public life until his former student Zoran Djindjic ousted him from the DS leadership in 1994. Djindjic, who also studied with Habermas and contributed to *Praxis International,* is today a presidential hopeful and favorite in the West. Micunovic now heads a pro-democracy nongovernmental organization. David Crocker, who saw him 1998, recalls, "He seemed a man who had given up in despair. The opposition had fragmented, nothing had come of it, and Milosevic was more powerful than ever."

It is typical of recent Serbian politics that those Praxists who sought power were the ones who differed least with the ruling regime. Other Belgrade Praxists kept a greater distance from politics but continued to agitate for a genuinely democratic future. It was a member of the Belgrade 8—Nebojsa Popov—who co-founded one of Serbia's most principled and least popular parties, the Civic Alliance of Serbia, in 1991. Among its stated aims was "to overcome nationalist and class collectivism." As the little brother of the two largest opposition parties, the Civic Alliance joined the Zajedno coalition that led protests at the University of Belgrade in 1996 and 1997. In one of the more surreal scenes to emerge from 1990s Belgrade, Popov appeared on Nikola Pasic Square with a pot of beans in February 1997. He and his colleagues were cooking beans for "all those hungry for freedom, truth, and democracy." They pledged to continue "beaning" for 330 days or until Milosevic was deposed.

Among Popov's allies are members of another Praxis offshoot: the Belgrade Circle, a small nongovernmental organization. Its president, Obrad Savic, was one of the students the Praxists led in the protests of 1968. Savic has been unsparing in his criticism of Markovic and Tadic's turn to nationalism; in return, Tadic has denounced him as the founder of "anti-Serb mondialism."

Some of the same people who were once drawn to *Praxis* and *Praxis International*—Habermas, Richard Rorty, Chomsky—today publish in *The Belgrade Circle Journal,* whose special issue on human rights will be published as a book this month by Verso.

ULTIMATELY, it is story of the Belgrade Circle's founder, the Praxis philosopher Miladin Zivotic, that sheds the starkest light on the Yugoslav tragedy. The foreign intellectuals who were drawn to the Praxis vision of self-managing socialism back in its halcyon days did not take great notice of young Zivotic, whose attentions were devoted mostly to culture. By the 1980s, Zivotic and his students formed a vanguard of poststructuralist scholarship in Belgrade, turning away from the Praxis fascination with Marxism in favor of Foucault and Derrida. Together with the aging dissident Milovan Djilas, Tito's onetime heir apparent, they founded the Belgrade Circle in 1992. According

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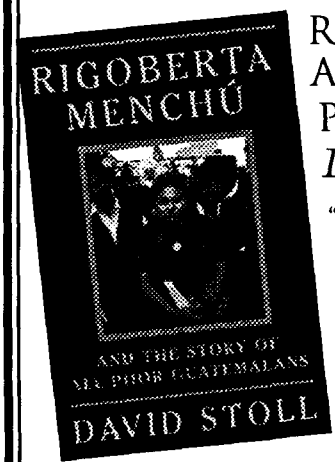

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to Richard Bernstein, "There came a point when Marxism, even Marxist humanism, was old hat. It no longer spoke to the right issues. The Belgrade Circle allowed the younger generation to rebel against the stale clichés of the older generation."

But Zivotic and his followers made their real reputation as peace activists. During the war years, the Belgrade Circle expanded to include a motley array of workers, filmmakers, intellectuals, and artists. At its height it had five hundred followers, who convened every Saturday for public events geared toward interethnic dialogue and peace.

In 1993, Zivotic traveled to besieged Sarajevo, slipping through Bosnian Serb lines to meet with the city's Muslim leadership. Back in Belgrade, he received a series of anonymous telephone calls from strangers who threatened to slit his throat. He spoke out in solidarity with Kosovo's Albanians, and when Muslims in Serbia's Sandjak region came under threat, he went to live with them in protest. Against ethnic cleansing he proclaimed, "If living together is impossible, then life itself is impossible as well."

Although he had been permitted to return to the University of Belgrade in 1987, Zivotic was no longer happy there by 1994. He told *The New York Times,* "I could not stand to go to work. I had to listen to professors and students voice support and solidarity for these Bosnian fascists, Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, in the so-called Republic of Srpska. It is now worse than it was under Communism. The intellectual corruption is more pervasive and profound." A friend remembers that Zivotic "was physically destroyed by the time and the evil amid which he lived."

In 1997, Zivotic gave a talk in London about the anti-Milosevic demonstrations that were then taking place at the University of Belgrade. He knew that the West had high hopes for the activists, but he also knew that their leaders were themselves nationalists. Branka Magas was at this talk. "He was very disappointed with the Praxis people," she says. "He was a humanist."

Two weeks later, Zivotic was dead. "He was extremely tormented by what had happened," says Magas. "He died of a broken heart, I think."

Laura Secor is a senior editor of *LF.*

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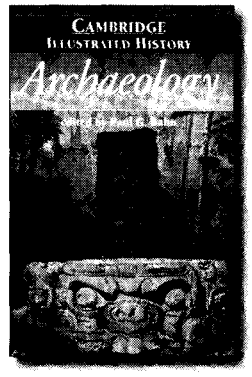

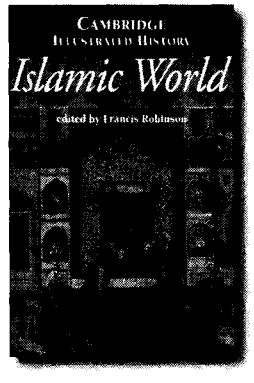

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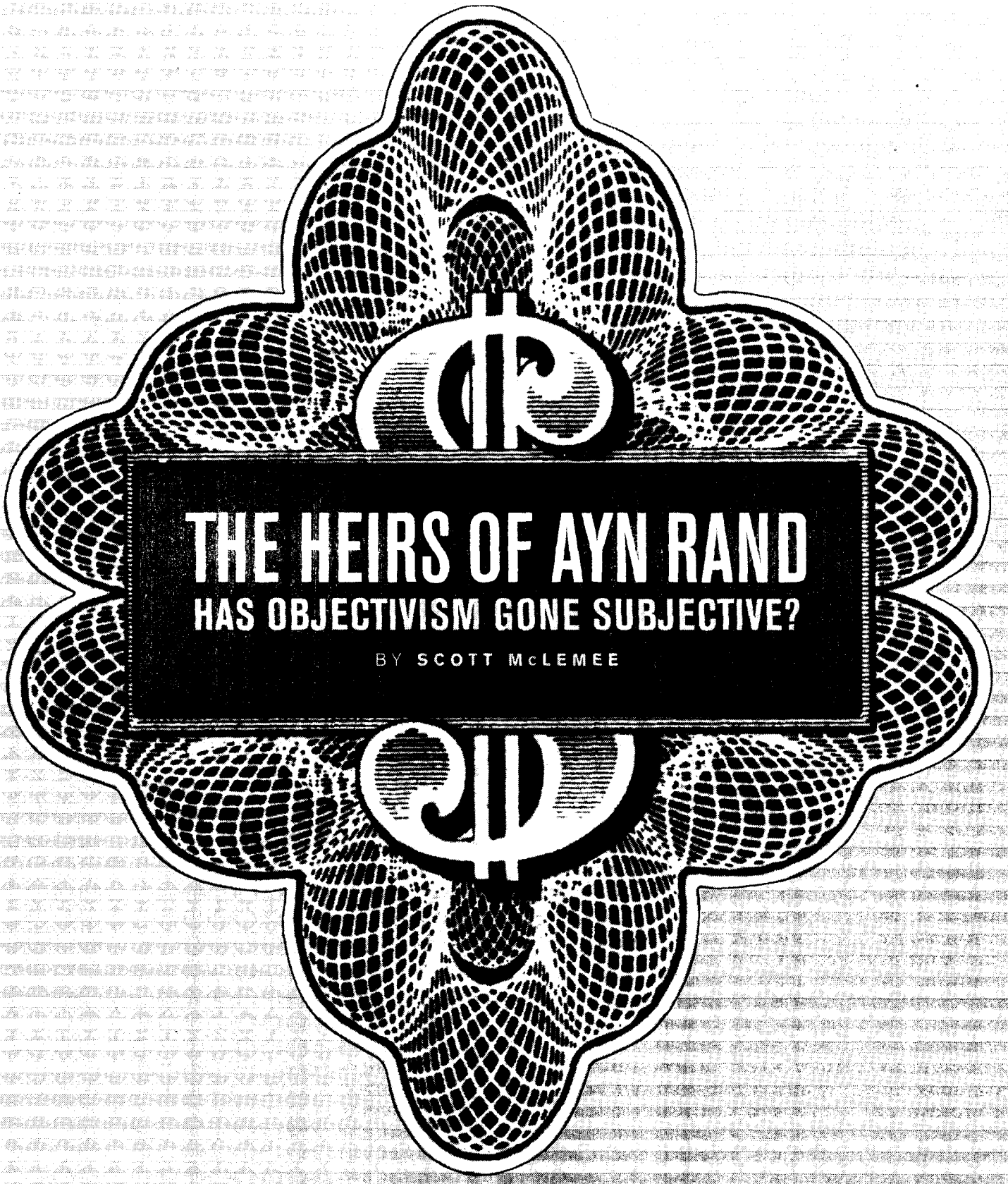

THE HEIRS OF AYN RAND

HAS OBJECTIVISM GONE SUBJECTIVE?

BY SCOTT McLEMEE

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OVER THE LAST HALF CENTURY, SCATTERED bands of American students have undergone a soul-wrenching rite of passage—typically conducted at a vast distance from family and school in an isolated clearing far above the familiar world. For there is something mountain-like about the work of Ayn Rand. And not only in the mundane sense that, say, *The Fountainhead* (1943) is a very sizable volume—though dwarfed by *Atlas Shrugged* (1957), which fills almost eleven hundred closely printed pages. They are the first novels of ideas many people ever encounter (and often enough, the last).

To admirers, the Olympian dimensions of Ayn Rand's vision are manifest in even the briefest essays collected in *The Virtue of Selfishness* (1964) or *Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal* (1966). As an advocate of personal freedom and the untrammeled profit motive, Rand argues with a passion that can only be called tempestuous. (The same word describes the love lives of her characters.) Yet in pursuing the full implications of laissez-faire, Rand also climbs to the iciest summits of abstraction. Her action-adventure plots culminate in heroic speeches about the ethical, epistemological, and aesthetic necessity of free-market capitalism. And from this height, you see the whole world anew.

So generations of readers have reported—including such figures as the chairman of the Federal Reserve, Alan Greenspan, the novelist and screenwriter Nora Ephron, Hillary Rodham Clinton, and the Canadian bombast-rock group Rush. (The album *2112* was inspired by her philosophy.) Rand died in 1982, but her spirit lingers in Silicon Valley, with its anarcho-entrepreneurialism. At least one dozen *Playboy* centerfold models have named *The Fountainhead* or *Atlas Shrugged* as their favorite book. And Camille Paglia has proclaimed Rand an intellectual prototype of her own bad self—than which no higher praise can be imagined, from that source.

Strong anecdotal evidence indicates that an enthusiasm for Ayn Rand usually begins in high school or the early years of college. But it is an intellectual adventure students have undertaken on their own, a discovery all the more potent for being private and extracurricular. Moreover, Rand's work is fiercely antiacademic. She did not think much of professors of literature or philosophy. And they have returned the favor.

At least, until recently. No doubt, most of her novels are still devoured on the reader's own time; but young people are increasingly likely to encounter Rand's books in the classroom. Excerpts from her work can be found in Joel Feinberg's popular philosophy textbook *Reason and Responsibility,* now in its tenth edition. More than twenty years ago, a paper in the journal *College English* suggested that Rand belonged in the women's studies canon. It was a daring notion at the time—indeed, a provocation, given that the influential feminist writer Susan Brownmiller had recently denounced Rand as "a traitor to her own sex." Yet last February, a collection of feminist papers on Rand—some admiring, others most emphatically not—appeared in a Penn State university press series alongside titles on Plato, Hegel, and Hannah Arendt. Her advancement within American literary studies is less pronounced. But her novels all remain in print and sell about a hundred thousand copies each per year, which scholars interested in popular culture cannot help noticing.

Meanwhile, adherents of Objectivism (as Rand called her worldview) have an active interest group within the American Philosophical Association. Another enterprise, the Ayn Rand Institute (ARI), has announced that its "important function" is "to move Objectivism into today's universities." So far, ARI has spent more than $5 million on educational programs advancing Objectivism. That includes approximately $250,000 in scholarships to high school students who win a contest for essays on Rand's novels. ARI-sanctioned and supported Objectivist clubs exist on about a hundred university campuses around the world. And a network of think tanks and journals makes it possible for academics interested in Objectivism to find co-thinkers—and funding.

But the progress of Randian scholarship has by no means been a straight line of ascent. The Old Guard who knew Rand looks with unconcealed horror at the new scholarship exploring the genesis and structure of objectivist theory. Nor would the grande dame herself have been pleased by all this academic attention: She once threatened to sue a professor for writing a critical study of her work.

MANY OF RAND'S FORMER ASSOCIATES LOOK WITH HORROR AT THE NEW SCHOLARSHIP ON OBJECTIVIST THEORY.

And yet Rand's very status as an intellectual outsider has won her work admission into the countercultural canon. The news will not have reached undergraduates, still giddy at seeing the world from the heights of *Atlas Shrugged.* But Ayn Rand—already a perennial, even a classic, of American popular culture—has entered the academic marketplace, big time.

ANY PORTRAIT of the author will suggest it, and film clips of her speaking drive the point home: Ayn Rand possessed not just an interpretation of the world but the charisma of a visionary—someone for whom even the most abstract ideas were visceral realities. She had complex eyes. They look black, yet her gaze is invariably likened to a laser beam. The trace of a Russian accent was not subtle, but the most evident thing about her voice was its precision, born of an absolute seriousness that precluded any sense of humor. Young admirers gathered in Rand's salon, where they emulated her use of the cigarette holder and the categorical denunciation. No other figure in American culture so closely resembles a Dostoyevsky character.

Born in St. Petersburg, Alissa Rosenbaum was twelve during the fateful events of 1917. The Communist expropriation of her father's pharmacy was perhaps the decisive experience of her adolescence. Fascinated by American silent movies—a staple of early Soviet culture—she studied filmmaking at the State Institute for Cinematography, where she was among the last students of bourgeois origin admitted. Emigrating to the United States

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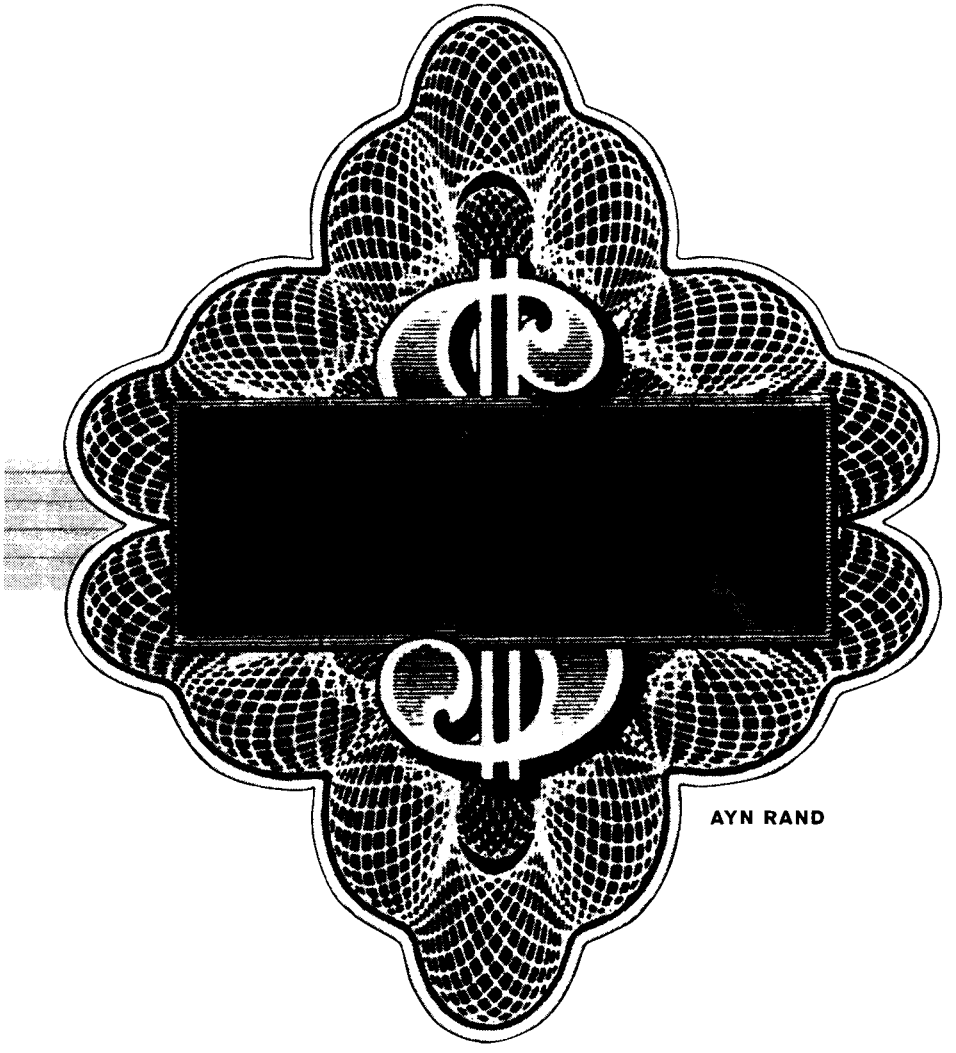

AYN RAND

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in 1926, she changed her name and found her way to Hollywood, where she met her husband-to-be, Frank O'Connor, while both were working as extras. (The marriage lasted until O'Connor's death in 1979.) Her English improved while she was writing treatments and scripts for Cecil B. DeMille. In 1936 she published her first novel, *We the Living*—a tale of romantic love and anti-Communist heroism set in postrevolutionary Russia. The timing was awful: American intellectuals were at the peak of their fascination with "the Soviet experiment," for all its little flaws.

Far more successful was *The Fountainhead*, which became a best-seller two years after its publication, largely on word of mouth about some riveting pages in which the beautiful Dominique is ravished by a handsome stranger. The stranger turns out to be Howard Roark, an uncompromisingly brilliant architect modeled on Frank Lloyd Wright. Roark later dynamites a public housing project rather than see his design ruined. In a climactic (and lengthy) courtroom statement, he proclaims: "I do not recognize anyone's right to one minute of my life. Nor to any part of my energy. Nor to any achievement of mine.... I recognize no obligations toward men except one: to respect their freedom and take no part in a slave society." The novel's villain is the improbably named Ellsworth M. Toohey, who embodies the soul-destroying collectivist doctrine of self-sacrifice, though his day job is architecture critic for a newspaper. All major characters are prone to sustained philosophical reflection, articulating their positions either as creative heroes or as "second-handers" devoted to corrupting what they cannot destroy.

One aficionado of *The Fountainhead* was Clark Gable, who was infuriated that his studio failed to secure rights to the novel. (Gary Cooper played Roark in the 1949 screen adaptation—a camp masterpiece.) Far more important in the long run was the enthusiasm of two young students from Canada, Nathan Blumenthal and Barbara Weidman, who read the novel dozens of times before meeting the author in 1950. The relationship between the author and her two admirers became a close one. Rand followed Nathan and Barbara to New York City, where Nathan finished his undergraduate studies at NYU while Barbara did graduate work in philosophy at the same school. In 1953 Nathan and Barbara married; the following year they renamed themselves Nathaniel and Barbara Branden. Their friends and relations joined them in a circle known as the class of '43: intellectuals in their twenties intoxicated by *The Fountainhead*'s robust egotism. One was an NYU art history student (and later art historian), Mary Ann Sures. Another was Leonard Peikoff, who, like his cousin Barbara Branden, studied at NYU with Sidney Hook, the anti-Communist liberal philosopher best known for his work on Marx and Dewey. And Rand's arguments for the free market eventually won over the young Alan Greenspan—whose nickname in the group was the Undertaker.

Rand presided over the meetings with oracular eminence. Members of the Collective (as they jokingly called their individualists' salon) were allowed to read the manuscript of her third and most ambitious novel, *Atlas Shrugged*. In a story with distinct science-fiction overtones, Rand created a future in which the last traces of capitalism in America (and the world) are being destroyed by creeping socialism. Railroad tycoon and stunning beauty Dagny Taggart sets out to learn why all the most brilliant inventors are vanishing. She discovers that John Galt—an industrialist of genius and great virility—has organized a strike of the world's creative minds. They have retired to a valley called Galt's Gulch as the rest of the world goes to hell in a handbasket. In *The Ayn Rand Cult* (Open Court, 1999), Jeff Walker reports that Greenspan perused the book with cautious ecstasy. "On reading this," Greenspan told the novelist, "one tends to feel...exhilarated."

By 1955, Rand was at work on a sixty-page speech in which John Galt explained, on the radio, why he had organized the strike. Into this oration Rand poured decades of notebook speculations about capitalism, communism, history, art, sex,

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epistemology, and heroism. Meanwhile, she was also beginning a love affair with Nathaniel Branden, who was twenty-five years her junior though obviously wise beyond his years. Their affair was kept secret from the Collective but not from their spouses, who were expected to realize that the passion of Ayn and Nathaniel was rational and undeniable, like that of Rand's heroes and heroines. Barbara went along glumly. Frank was also compliant and went to a nearby bar to begin drinking himself into decline.

sophical essays Rand began publishing as she emerged from her doldrums.

By the early 1960s, there were Rand clubs on many college campuses—often to the consternation of philosophy and literature professors who had never read her work. Rand offered a critique of American liberalism that was sometimes shrill—she compared the New Frontier to fascism—yet by no means conservative. She despised all religion, and tradition's chains did not bind her heroines, who had sex because they wanted to. She called herself "a radical for

effect the only real human beings. Free trade is the natural expression of mutual respect among productive individuals. The only valid role of the state is to prevent violence, especially that of (in Rand's terms) "parasites" and "looters" against the inventors and producers. Alas, the state has always been a major instrument of the reality evaders. So has religion.

Rand finds that the history of all societies has been a struggle between the devouring and the prolific. The implications of this conflict register in all spheres

RAND'S ADMIRERS HAVE INCLUDED ALAN GREENSPAN, NORA EPHRON, HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, AND MEMBERS OF THE ROCK BAND RUSH.

The novel appeared in 1957—its dedication page bearing the names of both Rand's husband and her lover. The Soviet spy turned Catholic neoconservative Whittaker Chambers reviewed it for William F. Buckley's *National Review*. He complained that Rand's anti-Communism barely concealed yearnings of a technocratic and indeed totalitarian nature. "From almost any page of *Atlas Shrugged*," Chambers wrote, "a voice can be heard, from painful necessity, commanding: 'To a gas chamber—go!'" Other comments were not much friendlier: Russell Kirk, the conservative philosopher, groused that people read her novels "for the fornicating bits." Rand fell into a severe depression—exhausted after fourteen years' work on *Atlas Shrugged* and convinced that the culture was so hopeless that no one could appreciate her accomplishment. Not even the Collective's adulation lifted her spirits.

In 1958, Nathaniel Branden offered to present the quintessence of Rand's vision—the philosophy embodied in her novels—in a course of twenty public lectures titled "Basic Principles of Objectivism." Rand was not enthusiastic about the idea but gave the project her blessing anyway. It was an unqualified success. Other members of the class of '43 began to speak all over the country on how Rand's philosophy applied to psychology, art history, and economics. Only those so designated by Rand were allowed to call themselves Objectivists. But students of Objectivism around the country rented tapes from the Nathaniel Branden Institute in New York City and studied the philo-

capitalism." She offered Objectivism as the first real philosophy of freedom and reason since the days of Aristotle.

It was certainly systematic. Rand began with a simple definition of value as "that which one acts to gain and/or keep." By this definition, the basic value for any living organism is survival. What distinguishes human beings is that, in their pursuit of survival, they bring unique capacities to bear: the powers to reason, to learn, and to engage in productive activity—all of which greatly enhance the human being's ability to flourish in a generally indifferent universe.

There is a hitch, though. Reasoning and creative effort are difficult. They demand that individuals pay attention to reality, uncover its physical principles, and commit themselves to the rigorous work of conquering nature. Such acts are subject to volition: Human beings have the ability not just to change the world but to ignore it, to daydream about it, and to expect something for nothing. Unfortunately, people who try to evade reality in these ways do not just die off from sheer stupidity. Through force and fraud, they devour the products of those who create and manufacture.

And so the productive use of one's rational and creative potential is itself a value. Like survival, it has an objective existence in the world, and it is something human beings must act to gain and/or keep. Those who take responsibility for their own lives—through a sustained and conscious commitment to developing their abilities to learn and to produce—are in

of culture. Creative and self-respecting souls would find in Objectivism a comprehensive explanation of how honorable and necessary their own existence was. And the reader who thrilled to the defiant speeches of Howard Roark and John Galt naturally felt himself a member of that elect.

At an Objectivist lecture in the 1960s, someone asked if such heroes as Rand portrayed could exist in the real world. Yes, she replied, there were two in the room at that moment: She indicated Nathaniel Branden and herself. She had identified Branden as her "intellectual heir," authorized to speak on her behalf regarding all matters. By 1967, the Nathaniel Branden Institute was installed in the Empire State Building, where it occupied eight thousand square feet and had a long lease. And then, in the summer of 1968—at a moment in American history when radicalism, individualism, and cultural critique were undergoing many strange permutations—it all imploded.

In August, after a lengthy hiatus in their sexual relationship, Rand learned that Nathaniel had fallen in love with an Objectivist student (who later became an actress). Rand heard the news from Barbara, whose own relationship with Nathaniel, always shaky, had finally come undone. At a meeting in New York City five days later, Nathaniel announced that he had committed an unspecified but enormous transgression against Objectivism. The intellectual heir resigned his position and moved to Los Angeles, where he began a tremendously successful practice as a psychotherapist and eventually got a Ph.D.

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GEDDY LEE, HILLARY CLINTON, ALAN GREENSPAN, AND NORA EPHRON (LEFT TO RIGHT)

FROM LEFT: SCOTT HARRISON/ARCHIVE PHOTOS; REUTERS/RICK WILKING/ARCHIVE PHOTOS; RON SACHS/CNP/ARCHIVE PHOTOS; JACK MANNING/NYT CO./ARCHIVE PHOTOS

That same summer, the Nathaniel Branden Institute shut down, leaving students of Objectivism around the country dazed and confused. Nor were they much enlightened when, after some delay, the October issue of *The Objectivist* ran an open letter in which Rand charged the movement's former No. 2 with "a tendency toward non-intellectual concerns." The last straw, Rand said, came when Branden gave her "a written statement which was so irrational and offensive to me that I had to break my personal association with him."

It was all terribly vague. But in her letter, Rand dropped broad hints at financial irregularities—stopping just short of insinuating embezzlement. After getting legal advice, the Brandens published their own replies. In his final statement, the former intellectual heir revealed "that which I infinitely would have preferred to leave unnamed, out of respect for her privacy": namely, that his final offense had been a letter begging her to understand that "an age distance between us of twenty-five years constituted an insuperable barrier, for me, to a romantic relationship."

Following the traumatic developments of 1968, Rand continued occasionally to lecture and appear on TV. But she became more reclusive, working (and often fighting) with a handful of associates while producing an endless stream of unpublished speculations about the deranged "psycho-epistemology" of her former protégé. The treason of Nathaniel Branden became an (almost literally) unspeakable mystery of the Objectivist movement, which had by then become a full-fledged subculture whose members socialized and did business together, shared tastes and customs, and turned to Objectivist counseling to resolve their personal conflicts. A revealing (and deeply unappealing) sketch of this counterculture appears in Ellen Pasil's memoir *Therapist* (1985), which recounts how her Objectivist shrink insisted that they have sex, lest she be guilty of "evasion."

Though Rand intended to compose a new novel—as well as a systematic statement of her philosophy—she never published another sustained work. The books appearing throughout the last fifteen years of her life were collections of essays. (The New American Library's paperback editions gave these books an enormous readership, but Rand's work usually first appeared in journals sponsored by her cothinkers.) True, one somewhat influential title of the late 1960s might credibly be called Rand's work: *The Psychology of Self-Esteem* (1969) was Objectivist down to the commas. Rand considered it her brainchild. But, alas, it bore the signature of Nathaniel Branden, was published following their break, and so could only be called a bastard.

WHEN RAND DIED in early 1982, her work had enthusiasts in the White House, where deregulation and supply-side economics were predicated on the virtue of selfishness. The porcupine-like Rand had denounced both Ronald Reagan (for his antiabortion statements) and the Libertarian Party. Yet the Objectivist overtones of the moment were unmistakable. Jerome Tuccille's lively history of antistatist radicalism during the 1960s and early 1970s had been titled *It Usually Begins With Ayn Rand* (1972). Rand had admirers at small think tanks of free-marketeers, such as the Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University. Her portrait hangs in the Washington, D.C., offices of the Cato Institute. And on campuses, arguments against draft registration came from not just Marxist and pacifist groups but the Students for a Libertarian Society, whose members might or might not have read Friedrich Hayek or Ludwig von Mises but certainly knew economic theory à la *Atlas Shrugged*.

It only stood to reason that the 1980s would be the era when Objectivist intellectuals emerged from Galt's Gulch and initiated the golden age of Rand studies. Yet this never happened. And that it did not is a puzzle of intellectual history that takes us into the very heart of Rand's worldview—where contradictions abound, and A does not always equal A.

For one thing, Rand was deeply ambivalent about academia. She craved serious attention; The postpartum depression following *Atlas Shrugged* was compounded by a sense of neglect by intellectuals. Yet the

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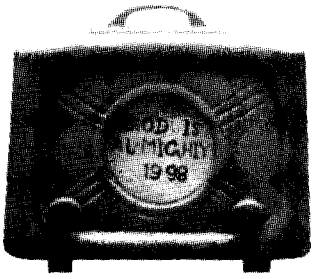

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"I AM NOT LOOKING FOR INTELLIGENT DISAGREEMENT ANY LONGER," RAND SAID. "I AM LOOKING FOR INTELLIGENT AGREEMENT."

prospect of having her work scrutinized and debated was even more unbearable.

The best testimony on this score comes from the philosopher John Hospers, now retired from the University of Southern California, whose textbooks *Human Conduct: Problems of Ethics* and *Introduction to Philosophical Analysis* are now in their third and fourth editions, respectively. In 1960 Hospers met Rand after she gave a lecture at Brooklyn College, where he was teaching. They had lunch together, and the conversation ran for six hours. "The intellectual excitement of that afternoon," he recalled decades later, "remains a high spot in my life.... Her ideas did not fit into any of the usual philosophical categories—so I had to discover more."

Their marathon dialogues ran intermittently for years, with Hospers even challenging Rand on epistemology—a risky move given the fury with which she attended the subject. He encouraged her to submit a paper to a professional journal and answer other philosophers' comments. But she never did. Eventually she told Hospers: "I am not looking for intelligent disagreement any longer.... What I am looking for is intelligent agreement." (Although the friendship did not survive the mid-1960s, the encounter was decisive for Hospers: In 1972, he ran as the first presidential candidate of the Libertarian Party.)

Rand's feelings about academia did not mellow with age, as Mimi Reisel Gladstein of the University of Texas at El Paso learned while working on a critical study, *The Ayn Rand Companion* . Toward the end of Rand's life, Gladstein wrote to her, informing Rand of the project. Rand warned that, if the study appeared, she would sue. When Douglas J. Den Uyl of Bellarmine College and Douglas Rasmussen of St. John's University were putting together a collection titled *The Philosophic Thought of Ayn Rand*, they faced similar discouragement from the author. (Both volumes finally appeared in 1984, unlitigated.)

But this legacy—Rand's desire to be taken seriously by philosophers and critics coupled with her active resistance—was perhaps the least of the problems Objectivist intellectuals would face after her death. At the core of her work was a knot no one could untie. Rand had not simply developed a philosophy affirming the moral necessity and inviolability of private property. Objectivism itself was a piece of property, and her concepts were not available for unlicensed use. "If you agree with some tenets of Objectivism, but disagree with others," she warned readers, "do not call yourself an Objectivist; give proper authorship for the parts you agree with—and then indulge any flights of fancy you wish, on your own." An unauthorized interpretation of an Objectivist concept was, ipso facto, a violation of her proprietary interest.

Rand had indicated that Objectivist theory would require extensive development. But although she had designated Leonard Peikoff her intellectual heir to manage the conceptual structure, he was not someone to strike out in bold new directions. As a student, he had shown a distressing tendency to fall under the influence of non-Objectivist thinkers, to the irritation of everyone in the Collective. His many errors were rectified thanks to extensive discussions with Rand. Peikoff has indicated that these were vastly more stimulating and profound than any seminars he took before getting his Ph.D. from the University of Denver. Although he has taught philosophy at various schools (including Hunter College and the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn), he willingly subordinated his academic career to the task of keeping Objectivism pure and integral.

With Rand, the hermeneutic circle quickly turned vicious. To do more than paraphrase the existing (and closed) canon of her writings put Objectivist thinkers in a double bind: They would be advocating Rand's philosophy of private ownership while, in effect, expropriating the philosophy from its rightful owner. Furthermore, Rand had clearly indicated the proper influences to be acknowledged in discussing her work (including Aristotle and Victor Hugo). So it would be folly, at best, to

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suggest any comparison with, say, Nietzsche or Herbert Spencer.

Little surprise, then, that the most important developments in Rand studies during much of the 1980s were posthumous collections of her writings and the authorized *Ayn Rand Lexicon: Objectivism From A to Z* (1986).

But then a bomb landed. Barbara Branden's *The Passion of Ayn Rand* (1986) was the first in-depth account of the author's life, by someone in a position to report many events from behind the scenes. The book made the national best-seller lists. For all the startling revelations—about Rand's testiness, her decades-long use of diet pills, and the unusual ménage within the Collective—it was a deeply affectionate portrait. Then Nathaniel Branden weighed in with his own memoir, *Judgment Day: My Years With Ayn Rand* (1989), which differed from his ex-wife's account in details but not in its melancholy estimation of Rand's genius and her all-too-human problems. To the Brandens, very large claims for Rand's world-historical importance still seemed appropriate.

Peikoff pronounced these books "corrupt." Hence, he declared, he would not read them, and no genuine Objectivists should.

They did anyway. The sudden opening permitted Rand's admirers to glimpse the secret history of their movement's beginnings—and at last to understand the break (as the events of August 1968 were still called). And this bit of glasnost was shortly followed by perestroika of a kind that may leave monolithic Objectivism in the dustheap of history.

The restructuring came from the top—with David Kelley, a popular lecturer on Rand's ideas whose technical work on her epistemology made him arguably the most substantial Objectivist philosopher. Kelley has taught philosophy at Vassar College and Brandeis University. And unlike Peikoff, the designated heir, his publications include articles in major professional journals, such as *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*. Some have seen the revisionism that Kelley introduced in the late 1980s as a dangerous capitulation to academic norms. A non-Objectivist may well have to concede the point.

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What Kelley did was challenge a core idea regulating how Objectivists interact with those who reject Rand's system: the doctrine of sanction. Given that values are not matters of subjective opinion but features of the world, the belief in a false value is tantamount to a denial of reality—and anyone who upholds a false value is morally responsible for the consequences of his or her thoughts. A Randian intellectual thus faces extremely limited options in dealing with people who espouse a mistaken or pernicious view. If unfamiliar with Objectivist principles, they may yet be brought to reason. This is worth pursuing if the person is young and has not yet thought through Rand's ideas. But an adult who advocates, say, progressive taxation is in the grip of a malign psycho-epistemology that is probably irreversible—though this same person may well share the Objectivist stance on other issues, like abortion. To join with such people in political activity is unacceptable. That would implicitly sanction with them bad ideas. But so would any sustained dialogue, beyond the point at which it was clear they rejected Objectivism (and hence were morally culpable for all consequences of their reality evasion).

In 1989, Kelley authored a critique of the sanction idea, suggesting that it was necessary to recognize a distinction between ideas (which are true or false) and actions (which are good or evil). This had stunning implications. A Marxist professor was not necessarily the moral equivalent of, say, Pol Pot—though at some level each was opposed to capitalism. Kelley even suggested (as a kind of thought experiment) that Objectivists might benefit from discussion and debate with, for example, that Marxist professor. There was a chance they could even learn something from each other.

This, finally, was a bridge too far. In an essay titled "Fact and Value," Peikoff read Kelley out of the movement for unprincipled toleration-mongering. Kelley had even written that Rand's philos-

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ONE FAN OF "THE FOUNTAINHEAD" WAS CLARK GABLE, WHO WAS INFURIATED THAT HIS STUDIO FAILED TO SECURE RIGHTS TO THE NOVEL.

ophy, however grand, "is not a closed system." To this Peikoff answered, "Yes, it is.... Every philosophy, by the nature of the subject, is immutable. New implications, applications, integrations can always be discovered; but the essence of the system—its fundamental principles and their consequences in every branch—is laid down once and for all by the philosophy's author." So there.

The Ayn Rand Institute warned college groups not to invite Kelley to speak. He was shunned. In 1990, he launched the Institute for Objectivist Studies (IOS) in Poughkeepsie, New York; it rapidly emerged as a pole of attraction for disaffected Randians, of whom there were many (and more on the way, since 1994 brought a fresh purge of deviationists). The IOS magazine, *Full Context,* began to publish a series of extensive interviews with academics and intellectuals involved with Rand—amounting to something like an oral history of the movement. The institute's program of seminars, conferences, and scholarly publications in some ways replicated the quasi-academic tone of the early Objectivist movement, but without appeals to the final authority of the author herself.

IT IS AN AXIOM of free-market thought that competition is a good thing. And perhaps the emergence of a separate cluster of Randian intellectuals around Kelley (a group sometimes called neo-Objectivists) finally spurred Peikoff to finish a project he had been working on for a couple of decades. *Objectivism: The Philosophy of Ayn Rand* (1991) was a comprehensive and systematic treatment of the body of ideas scattered throughout her essays. Nine hundred copies were sent out to the heads of philosophy departments around the country. "To be objective," the author noted in the preface, "I identify the status of my work as follows: this book is the definitive statement of Ayn Rand's philosophy—as interpreted by her best student and chosen heir."

The response of those nine hundred department heads to Peikoff's *Summa Randologica* was not what you would call electric. And yet, as the 1990s draw to a close, it is clear that this decade marked the emergence of a hitherto dormant scholarly engagement with Ayn Rand. The strongest signal of this—if not in fact its catalyst—may have been an interview with someone who had no history at all in the Objectivist movement: Camille Paglia.

In 1995, the author of *Sexual Personae*—then at the start of her career as the media's favorite politically incorrect feminist and academic gadfly—told the libertarian magazine *Reason,* "I never read Ayn Rand until people started com-

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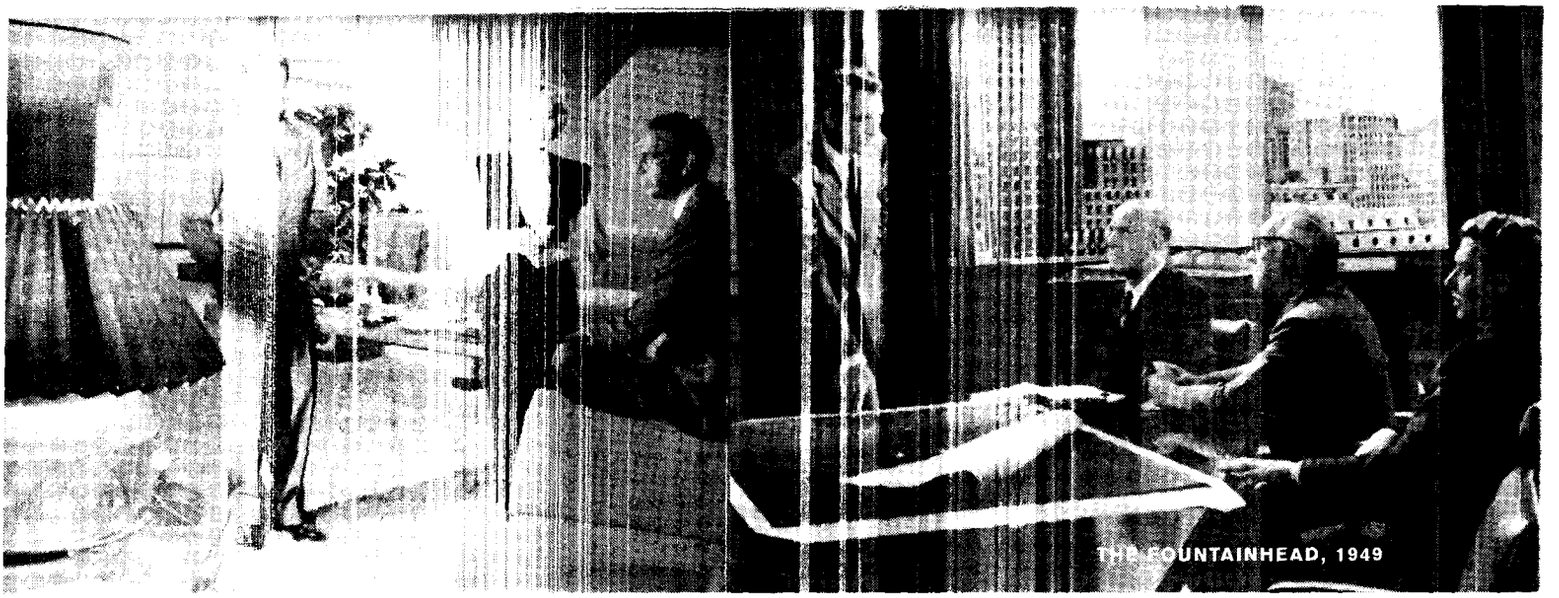

THE FOUNTAINHEAD, 1949

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paring me to he[illegible] And I was struck. I could see what the parallels are."

Looking into Rand's work with the rapt fascination she ordinarily reserves for Egyptian goddesses and TV studio monitors, Paglia thought, "Oh my God, that sounds like a passage from *Sexual Personae*." The affinity was scarcely one any reason-worshiping Randian would acknowledge: "She was influenced by many of the same works that I was. She was reading Romantic thinkers and Nietzsche and so on."

However obvious it has been to generations of readers, the notion that Rand had been influenced by Nietzsche violated Objectivist protocols. (Her few authoritative statements identify the German philosopher as a whim-worshiping subjectivist.) But in preparing his monograph *The Ideas of Ayn Rand* (1991), Ronald Merrill had discovered a passage in *We the Living* that Rand had omitted when she reprinted the novel in 1959: In it, the heroine entertains (though finally rejects) sentiments explicitly attributed to Nietzche about the justice of sacrificing the weak for the strong.

An Objectivist reviewer conceded that Rand had been influenced by Nietzsche for a while but insisted that her first novel settled the account. With the publication of *Journals of Ayn Rand* in 1997, however, readers learned that she had considered using quotes from *Thus Spake Zarathustra* as epigraphs to the three major sections of *The Fountainhead*. If Rand's metaphysical ethics of the profit motive did

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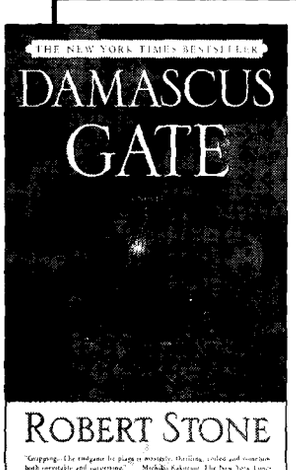

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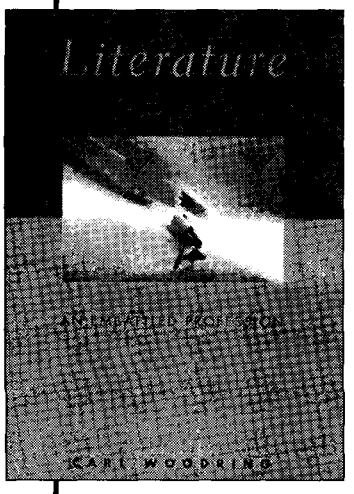

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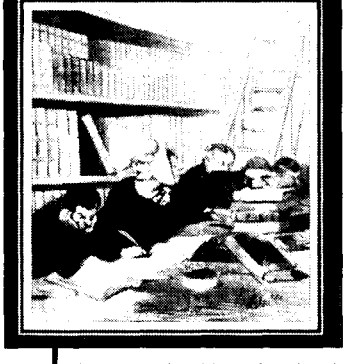

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"THE RUSSIAN RADICAL" SET OFF A MINOR CRISIS IN THE OBJECTIVIST WORLD—THE THIRD SUCH IN LESS THAN A DECADE.

ultimately derive from Aristotle—as the authorized interpretation had it—her capitalist *Übermenschen* turned out to have a different genealogy.

An even greater challenge to "proprietary" Objectivism came in 1995 from NYU visiting scholar Chris Matthew Sciabarra, who had discovered Rand's work as a teenager. As an undergraduate, he had taken classes with the Marxist philosopher Bertell Ollman—an unlikely mentor for an activist in Students for a Libertarian Society. Stimulated by Ollman's work on Marx, Sciabarra was amazed to find that Ayn Rand, too, was a dialectician. So were other libertarian theorists! Articulating the methodological and substantive parallels between Marxian and free-market thought became an epic scholarly quest—one that Ollman encouraged by directing Sciabarra's dissertation, "Toward a Radical Critique of Utopianism: Dialectics and Dualism in the Works of Friedrich Hayek, Murray Rothbard, and Karl Marx." That project continued with *Ayn Rand: The Russian Radical* (Penn State, 1995), which set out a drastic reinterpretation of her intellectual development and the structure of her system. The book, now in its third printing, has sold more than 8,000 copies.

Sciabarra's work acknowledges the importance of free-market economic thought for Rand, as well as her sense of a deep continuity between Objectivism's philosophical anthropology and Aristotle's. But he insists that Russian culture was the strongest and most pervasive influence on her vision, especially the culture of the early twentieth century (extending into the first years of the Communist era) when avant-garde movements like symbolism and futurism joined Hegelian and Nietzschean philosophical currents to generate a cultural renaissance. Sciabarra was particularly intrigued by Rand's enthusiastic memories of having studied classical philosophy with N.O. Lossky—a titan of Russian thought who sought to overcome dualisms such as materialism/idealism and empiricism/rationalism through a grand system of markedly organicist and teleological bent.

Sciabarra claims that Objectivism likewise rejects the inherited dualisms—and synthesizes a new system transcending them. (One recalls John Hospers's first encounter with Rand: "Her ideas did not fit into any of the usual philosophical categories....") The evidence that Rand knew her professor's work in any depth is slim indeed. But a painstaking comparison of their systems is justified, Sciabarra thinks, insofar as Lossky's writings embody themes and ambitions common to Russian intellectuals of the time.

Placing Rand's work in this historical context also leads to some insights that are, to put it mildly, provocative. Rand's definition of art as "the technology of the soul" has a futurist ring to it. But to anyone familiar with Soviet history, it also brings to mind Stalin's pronouncement that the writer is the "engineer of the human soul." Sciabarra notes the parallel without flinching, and finds its source in the era's more grandiose ambitions for cultural and social transformation.

The Russian Radical set off what one observer called "a minor crisis" in the world of Objectivism—the third such in less than a decade. The orthodox Randian philosopher John Ridpath called it "a book that is preposterous in its thesis, destructive in its purpose, and tortuously numbing in its content." Other readers, finding Jürgen Habermas and Claude Lévi-Strauss cited, drew the interesting conclusion that Sciabarra was a deconstructionist. Unlike most scholarly monographs, the book rapidly got dozens of reviews and sparked a vast amount of e-mail debate. All of which Sciabarra followed—responding patiently and at length to questions about his method and conclusion.

Controversy over Sciabarra's next Rand project started even before it was published. There was something to provoke everyone in the very title of *Feminist Interpretations of Ayn Rand* (1999), a collection of papers Sciabarra co-edited with Mimi Reisel Gladstein (whose earlier book Rand had tried to stop). As convention defying as her heroines were, and as inspiring a model as many young women found her as writer and intellectual, Rand was contemptuous of what she called "Women's Lib." A fervent advocate of

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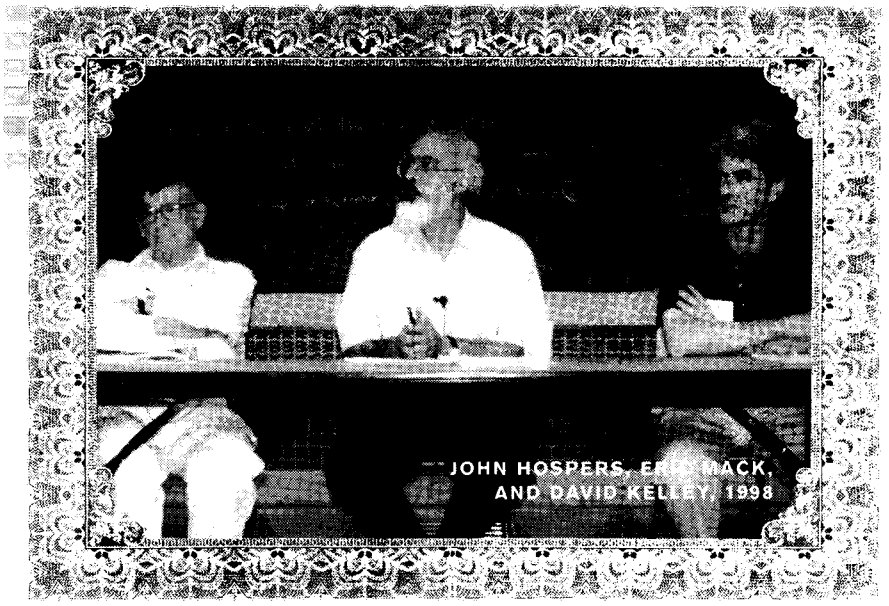

JOHN HOSPERS, ERIC MACK, AND DAVID KELLEY, 1998

abortion rights, she also argued against the idea of a woman becoming president. The women in her fiction are fiercely independent—and unapologetically sexual. Yet Rand also wrote that the nature of female desire was to seek worshipful domination by a heroic male. (Rand—as Garry Trudeau has said of George W. Bush—shows a deep commitment to having it both ways.)

The nineteen essays in *Feminist Interpretations* range from scholarly papers treating Rand on her own terms, as a major philosopher, to the most sarcastic of dismissals. One point of contention returns with particular frequency: how to read the implications of those episodes in which Rand's heroines submit to the value-creating Objectivist heroes. Some contributors call them "rape scenes." Others prefer the term "rough sex." In either case, there is the challenge of squaring the fiction's sadomasochist undercurrents with the emphasis on autonomy in her essays.

It would be difficult to find a better symbol of the state of Objectivist intellectual life today than the responses of the two Randian camps to *Feminist Interpretations*. Earlier this year, a leader of the Ayn Rand Institute issued a ringing denunciation of the book, following his study of the promotional materials on Sciabarra's web site. Meanwhile, Kelley's Institute for Objectivist Studies—which will be renamed the Objectivist Center this fall— has responded more favorably. "I am eager to set up a discussion around it," says Kelley.

But the conflict of interpretations may yet spill out of the sectarian ghetto. Ever since the original "class of '43," Ayn Rand's admirers have organized one Lyceum after another to advance her thought. That has been only one aspect of her influence, though. Readers with no interest in the architectonics of Objectivism still devour Rand's books by the ton. When historians consider the postwar rise of libertarianism in America—both as political movement and as cultural trend—Rand will be a major figure in the chronicle.

And even someone who finds *Atlas Shrugged* as digestible as a big chunk of cardboard might well be fascinated by Rand herself: an author who created a system of ideas, in defiance of a world with very little use for a woman committed to defining her own motives.

Was Ayn Rand just a writer of pulp-fiction sensibilities with a knack for euphemizing greed in a spirit of self-help profundity? Or was she the last of the nineteenth-century Russian intellectuals—a novelist-sage who was able to address the problems of freedom and domination in terms that readers are likely to appreciate well into the next millennium (whether their teachers want them to or not)?

If value and judgment are grounded in objectivity, it should be possible to reach some definitive conclusion. But at the risk of metaphysical evasion, the answer may be: both.

Scott McLemee is a contributing writer for *LF*. His article, "Under the Influence: The Long Shadow of Emanuel Swedenborg" appeared in the May/June 1998 issue.

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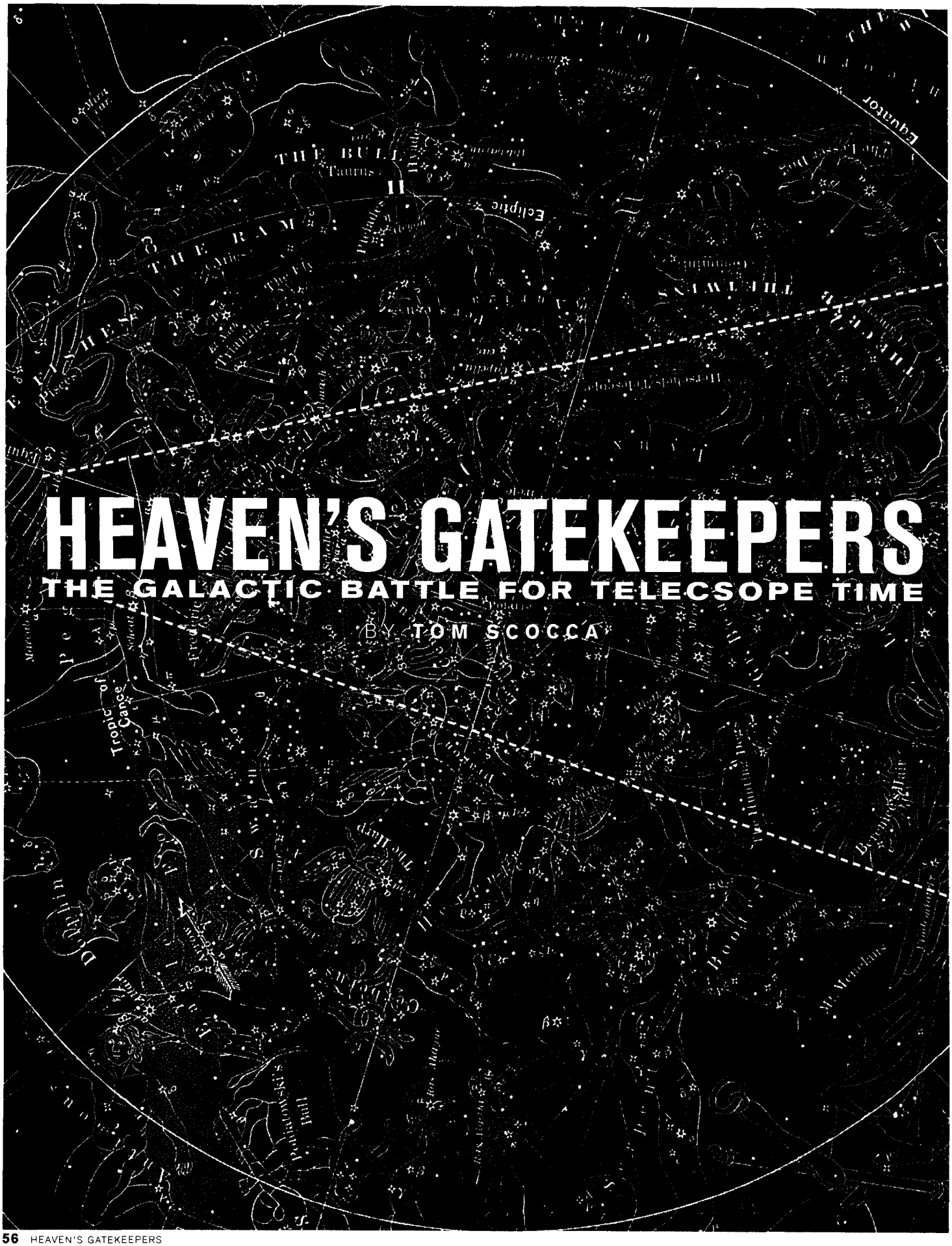

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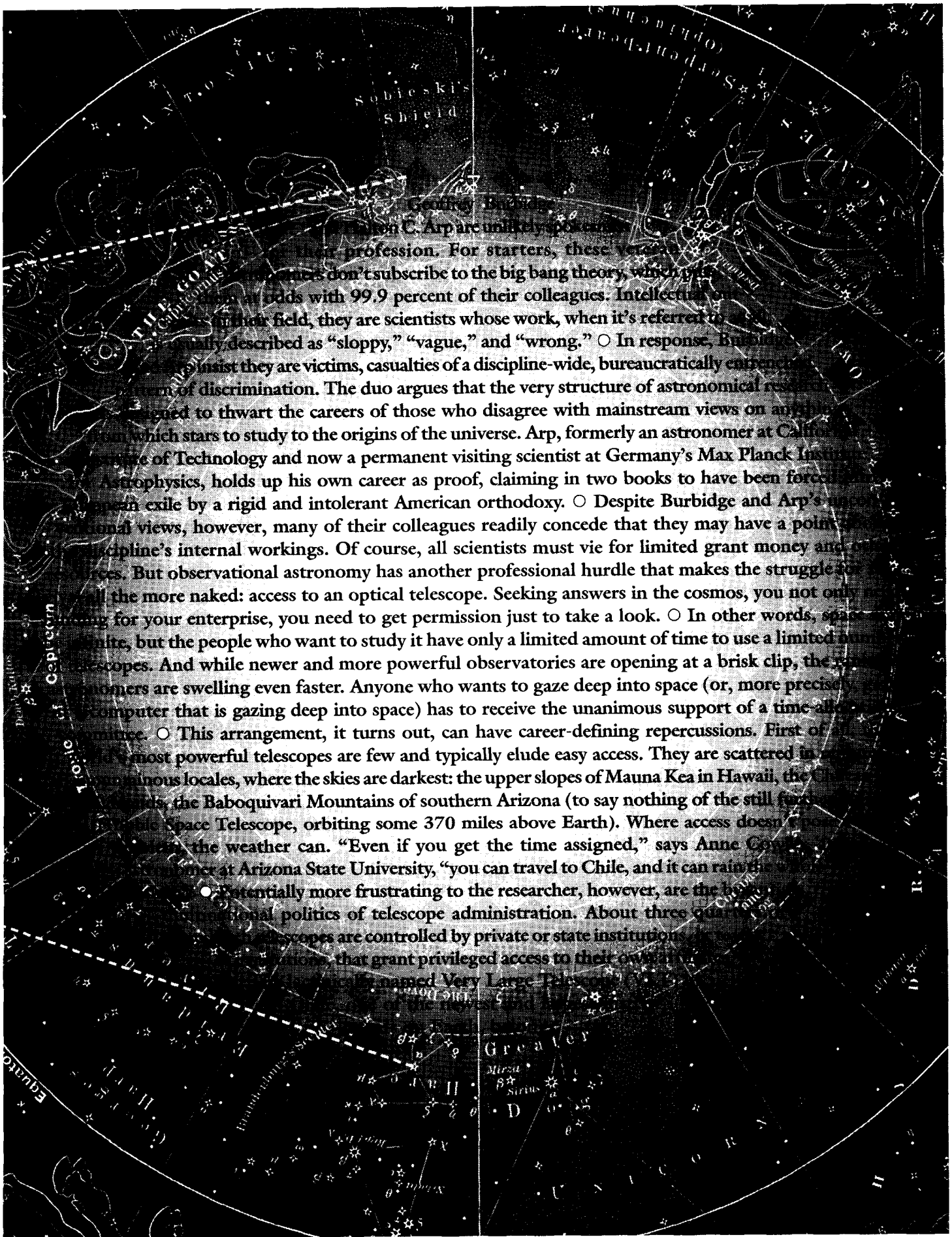

Geoffrey Burbidge [illegible] Halton C. Arp are unlikely spokesmen [illegible] their profession. For starters, these veteran [illegible] don't subscribe to the big bang theory, which puts [illegible] odds with 99.9 percent of their colleagues. Intellectual [illegible] their field, they are scientists whose work, when it's referred to [illegible] usually described as "sloppy," "vague," and "wrong." ○ In response, Burbidge [illegible] insist they are victims, casualties of a discipline-wide, bureaucratically entrenched [illegible] pattern of discrimination. The duo argues that the very structure of astronomical research [illegible] designed to thwart the careers of those who disagree with mainstream views on anything [illegible] from which stars to study to the origins of the universe. Arp, formerly an astronomer at Caltech [illegible] Institute of Technology and now a permanent visiting scientist at Germany's Max Planck Institute [illegible] Astrophysics, holds up his own career as proof, claiming in two books to have been forced [illegible] European exile by a rigid and intolerant American orthodoxy. ○ Despite Burbidge and Arp's [illegible] professional views, however, many of their colleagues readily concede that they may have a point [illegible] discipline's internal workings. Of course, all scientists must vie for limited grant money and [illegible] sources. But observational astronomy has another professional hurdle that makes the struggle for [illegible] all the more naked: access to an optical telescope. Seeking answers in the cosmos, you not only [illegible] funding for your enterprise, you need to get permission just to take a look. ○ In other words, space [illegible] infinite, but the people who want to study it have only a limited amount of time to use a limited number [illegible] telescopes. And while newer and more powerful observatories are opening at a brisk clip, the [illegible] astronomers are swelling even faster. Anyone who wants to gaze deep into space (or, more precisely, [illegible] computer that is gazing deep into space) has to receive the unanimous support of a time allocation [illegible] committee. ○ This arrangement, it turns out, can have career-defining repercussions. First of all, [illegible] the world's most powerful telescopes are few and typically elude easy access. They are scattered in [illegible] mountainous locales, where the skies are darkest: the upper slopes of Mauna Kea in Hawaii, the Chilean [illegible] Andes, the Baboquivari Mountains of southern Arizona (to say nothing of the still further-flung [illegible] Hubble Space Telescope, orbiting some 370 miles above Earth). Where access doesn't [illegible] mean that the weather can. "Even if you get the time assigned," says Anne Cowley, [illegible] astronomer at Arizona State University, "you can travel to Chile, and it can rain the [illegible] ○ Potentially more frustrating to the researcher, however, are the [illegible] organizational politics of telescope administration. About three quarters [illegible] telescopes are controlled by private or state institutions [illegible] observations that grant privileged access to their own [illegible] so-called named Very Large Telescopes [illegible] of the most [illegible]

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to the European Southern Observatory, an intergovernmental organization run by eight European countries. The two giant W.M. Keck telescopes on Mauna Kea, each a shade smaller than the VLT, are managed jointly by Caltech, the University of California system, and NASA. Another pair of instruments, the huge Gemini telescopes, are under construction in Hawaii and Chile; those will fall under the control of the Association of Universities for Research in Astronomy (AURA). As for the Hubble, it is controlled by the Space Telescope Science Institute, a Maryland research center also run by AURA.

Researchers know these affiliations by heart—and for good reason. A scientist employed by the University of California, for instance, has access to a whole set of observatories that an astronomer in a less telescopically endowed state—say, Arkansas—does not. To gain access to better telescopes, some researchers will invite a well-connected insider to join their research proposal. After all, without an inside line to an exclusive telescope, an astronomer may be forced to join the throng of some five or six hundred academically credentialed researchers around the world waiting to use the government's public telescopes, the bulk of which are run by the National Optical Astronomy Observatories (NOAO), a National Science Foundation–affiliated organization.

Of course, astronomy is no longer about latter-day Galileos peering through a lens, waiting for a revelation. Typically, the researcher spends two to four nights in an observatory collecting data. The actual stargazing is done by a computerized camera, manned by an observatory crew. The crew aims the camera at celestial coordinates specified by the astronomer and snaps the shutter. Most of the astronomer's insights are gleaned from the subsequent data crunching of computer-generated film images, not by eyeballing the computer screen.

But advances in technology have not reduced the competition for access to the skies. "All telescopes are oversubscribed by factors of three to ten or more," says Virginia Trimble, an astronomer and historian of astronomy at UC-Irvine. The exact ratio of applicants to viewing opportunities varies from telescope to telescope and from institution to institution. For the small and genteel University of California community, oversubscription tends toward a tolerable 2 to 1; on the Hubble telescope, which takes applications from anyone in the world, the rate has been running a nastier 5 to 1 and occasionally even a bloody 11 to 1. The process of choosing among so many applicants is by no means simply a matter of separating the wheat from the chaff. "Fully half of the proposals are well worth doing," says Meg Urry, the head of the science program selection office of the Space Telescope Science Institute. So the Hubble people, like everyone else, turn to their peer-review panels.

Such a panel's job is to pick through the applications—more than a thousand in some of Hubble's annual scheduling cycles—and decide which ones to accept and how much to trim each winner's requested viewing time. Careers can hang on the decision: Without observatory time, an astronomer has nothing to publish, and a scientist without publications is, in all likelihood, a scientist without a job.

Officially, at least, there are measures in place to make the process thorough and fair. Allocation committees, Urry explains, are made up of scientists from a variety of outside institutions, representing a range of observational specialties. Often, astronomical theorists are brought into the mix to lend a still-broader perspective.

According to critics, however, these guarantees of open-mindedness are woefully inadequate. "All scientists get turned down for telescope time," says Joseph Patterson, an astronomer at Columbia University. "We find ourselves scolded for committing mini-heresies. Burbidge and Arp are just the most publicized." One of the problems, astronomers acknowledge, is a tendency to focus on one phenomenon or theoretical paradigm to the exclusion of all others. "Historically, astronomy has long-term trends of interest," explains Bradley Schaefer, an astronomer at Yale University. "In the late 1800s, it was all solar system stuff, while the 1920s saw a great attention to binaries [two stars orbiting each other]. Planetary astronomy came booming back with the flybys after the 1970s." These days, the field is fixated on what Patterson calls "edge of the universe" research, or extragalactic phenomena (which do not include stars). Unfortunately for Patterson, his principal area of research is not currently in vogue, a fact that he says makes it hard for him to get telescope

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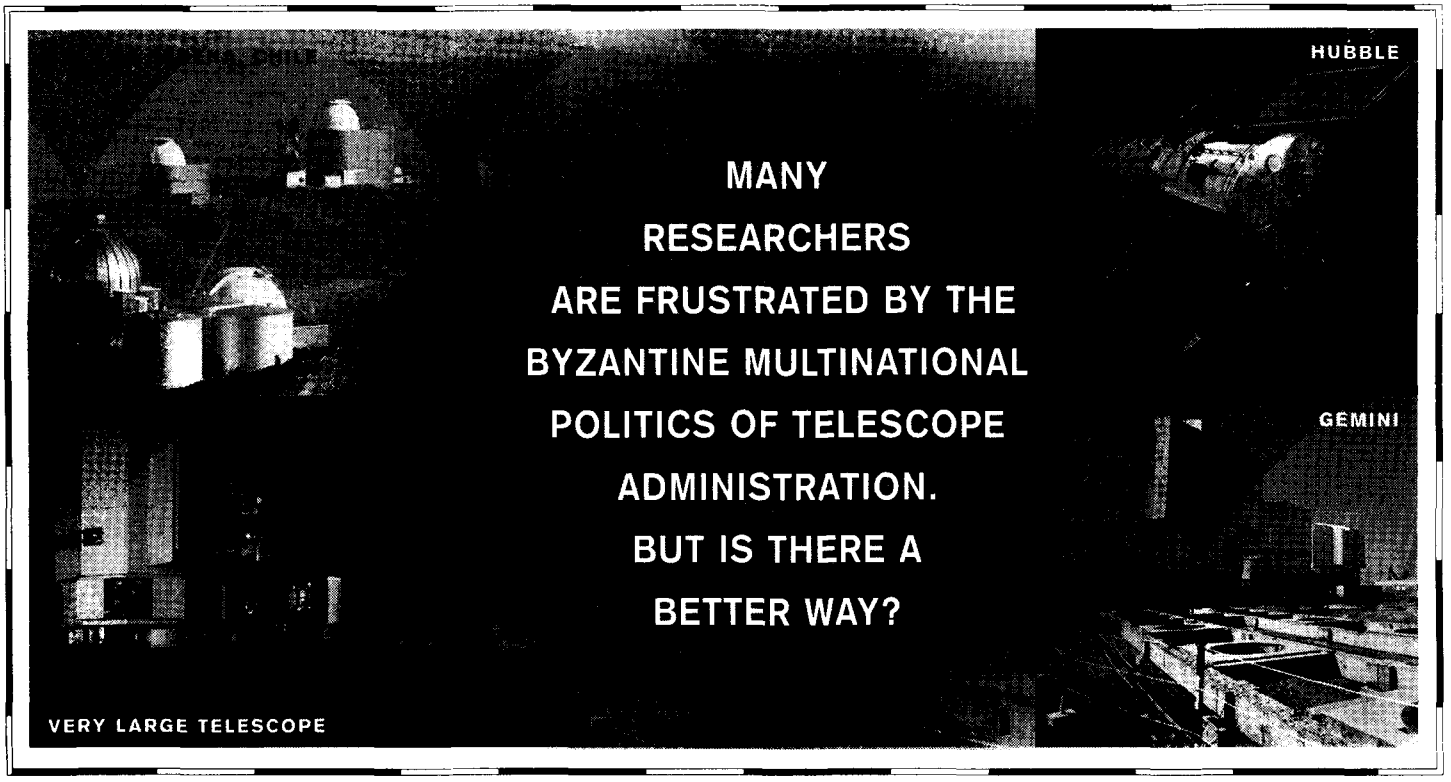

MANY RESEARCHERS ARE FRUSTRATED BY THE BYZANTINE MULTINATIONAL POLITICS OF TELESCOPE ADMINISTRATION. BUT IS THERE A BETTER WAY?

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: CORBIS/AFP; CORBIS/DIGITAL IMAGE; CORBIS/AFP; EUROPEAN SOUTHERN OBSERVATORY

time. "Virtually all modern telescopes are built with the same thing in mind," he says. "And that is extragalactic research. If you are interested in stars, you are told to go away." Patterson says he is obliged to conduct much of his research overseas and to co-write papers and trade ideas with a network of mostly amateurs called the Center for Backyard Astrophysics, which operates outside mainstream channels.

In general, Burbidge claims, only those proposals that get uniformly excellent ratings from time-allocation committees tend to be approved. In this way, he argues, committees become instruments for maintaining the status quo and suppressing new ideas. Burbidge's own biography, however, suggests that a determined heretic can occasionally subvert the system. Though his current cosmological theories may be unorthodox, Burbidge has done distinguished—indeed, seminal—astrophysics over his long career. A physics professor at UC-San Diego, he was director of the Kitt Peak National Observatory in Arizona from 1978 to 1984. Nevertheless, he insists that while he was there he witnessed several attempts at censorship. Once, he recounts, when an eminent committee member tried to stop a researcher from getting more viewing time on a project whose preliminary results had contradicted conventional theory, Burbidge used the discretionary time reserved for him as director to allow the scientist to continue. "I simply ignored the committee," he says cheerfully, "and the discovery was completed. It turned into a new bandwagon, which has [since] been destroyed by something else."

Mainstream astronomers worry that by linking their criticisms of disciplinary bureaucracy to their eccentric scientific views, Burbidge and Arp are doing a legitimate cause a disservice. As Virginia Trimble points out, the number of people who share their views on the big bang "can literally be counted on the fingers of one hand."

At the core of Arp and Burbidge's heresy are their renegade views about quasars. Most scientists believe that quasars are very distant, very bright objects, some of the farthest and brightest celestial bodies that we can see. Because the universe is expanding, the quasars are receding from us, and the wavelength of the light they emit stretches out, shifting toward the red end of the spectrum. These redshifts, mainstream observers believe, are key measuring devices for calculating the rate of cosmic expansion.

Since the mid-1960s, Arp has maintained that some of these high-redshift quasars are adjacent to galaxies with much lower redshifts. Accordingly, he argues, the quasars owe their greater redshift to something other than a receding cosmos. If that's the case, and quasars are closer than everyone else thinks they are, then the big bang is in trouble. "If you look at the underpinnings of the big bang, it doesn't hang together," Burbidge argues.

As a graduate student at Caltech in the 1960s, Trimble says she knew Arp and advised him to give up his budding obsession with redshifts. Every astronomer has been wrong about something, she points out. The goal is to recognize that and move on. "If he'd taken my advice," she says, "he'd be much better off." The notion that quasars' strong redshifts are caused not by cosmic expansion but by an undefined something else doesn't sit well with conventional astronomers. And that's not the least of it: These astronomers also claim that recent studies have put Arp's data into question. Arp contends that without telescope access for his work, there's no way to evaluate his claim that there are associations between high-redshift quasars and low-redshift galaxies. But Stephen Maran, an astronomer who is press officer for the American Astronomical Society, says that just such a survey has been performed by Alan Stockton of the University of Hawaii. The result: Quasars do seem to be associ-

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ated with galaxies but only with galaxies that have the same redshift as the quasars themselves, a conclusion that would tend to reinforce the prevailing theory of cosmic expansion.

Just as damningly, notes Andreas Albrecht, a physics professor at UC-Davis, the Burbidge camp has had to change its position over the years, as evidence for the big bang has grown stronger—sort of a dissent with modification. What Burbidge and Arp originally conceived as a completely static steady-state universe has become a quasi-steady-state one, in which space is in fact expanding, if only locally. But Burbidge and Arp are not ready to yield to the notion of a universe that, in the beginning, was void and without form. Burbidge believes the initial sources of energy for the big bang have been left unacceptably unexplained, giving big bang supporters "a large bag of free parameters that can subsequently be tuned as the occasion may require." By contrast, in his quasi-steady-state universe, Arp says, "we're no longer faced with a moment of creation or a moment before which there was nothing." One advantage of this model, he argues, is that there is nothing in the universe that cannot be observed.

This past April, *Physics Today* published a synopsis of the quasi-steady-state cosmology co-authored by Burbidge, retired Cambridge astronomer Fred Hoyle, and Jayant Narlikar of India's Inter-University Centre for Astronomy and Astrophysics. But even as the group laid out their Arp-influenced scientific theory—a universe with no beginning and no end—they fulminated against the "mistreatment" of Arp by his former employers at the Mount Wilson and Palomar Observatories in California and the resulting "chilling effect" on research. Palomar's refusal to give Arp any more viewing time is the capstone of Burbidge's attack on the time-allocation system. "He was driven out," Burbidge says. "He's being punished for [having different ideas], that's what it comesdown to."

It's inflammatory rhetoric like this that tends to alienate potential sympathizers. Nevertheless, the dissenters' efforts to cast light on the politics of telescope allocation may eventually pay off.

By its nature, peer review is "notoriously conservative," explains Maran. "There has been a recognition now and again," he acknowledges, "that people with innovative new ideas don't get well treated and may sort of slip through the cracks." When that conservatism strongly influences the research process, as in astronomy, its effects are much more pronounced. A conservative peer-review panel at a scientific journal could, conceivably, be swayed into publishing some unexpected new finding. But if that same panel is deciding who gets to do the research in the first place, there might not be any opportunity to consider an unexpected or unorthodox argument. With telescope access at such a premium, committees are loath to approve projects that have a low chance of success or that demand too much time. Furthermore, some of the people doing the risk assessment are gambling with their own resources—that is, the people who divide up telescope time may be researchers who need to get a share of it themselves. "It is a zero-sum game," says Trimble.

There are ways around the time-allocation problem. Kitt Peak's practice of reserving time to be used at the director's discretion is not uncommon (although this, in turn, results in complaints of favoritism). Some facilities coordinate their peer-review processes, so that a researcher who wants to view the same object with different telescopes will no longer have to pass through multiple time-allocation com-

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mittees. Trimble likens the telescope system to democratic government: It's frustrating and flawed, she says, but "most of the things we've thought of to replace it are worse." In any case, these modest amendments are unlikely to satisfy Burbidge, who sees the time-allocation system as more a tyranny than a democracy. By requiring unanimous support for projects, he complains, time-allocation committees threaten the very spirit of scientific inquiry—particularly, he observes with sardonic humor, in the field most closely identified with overthrowing existing dogma. It was the astronomers who concluded that Earth was subordinate to the sun, that the sun was subordinate to the galaxy, and that the galaxy was subordinate to, well, so many things that a concept such as subordinate sounds feeble. "If you read the history of science, the tendency is for dogma to be defeated," Burbidge says. He argues that his own and Arp's research has shaken the foundations of orthodox cosmology, and most astronomers would rather suppress it than face its implications.

Arp is more dramatic: "I think we're in a situation analogous to the pre-Copernican state," he says. "I think people are very insecure and they're afraid of getting the wrong answer," he speculates. "Their psychological security is bound up in the fact that they have this hard-won knowledge and it's true."

Burbidge sees the use of the Hubble telescope as emblematic of the problem. "The Hubble Space Telescope is only pointed at places where people already know what they'll find," he complains.

These charges turn out to be largely, but not entirely, fair. One of the Hubble telescope's best-known results has been the Hubble Deep Field images, pictures of a bright sprinkling of distant objects obtained by pointing the telescope at what appeared to be a particularly dark and empty patch of sky. But the Hubble Deep Field project was scheduled on the director's discretionary time: It didn't need to pass muster with a peer-review committee. According to Trimble, there are good reasons for a committee to oppose pointing the Hubble any which way. The Hubble is designed to look far, not wide; its field of view is too narrow for free-form sky gazing. "Hubble is really not designed for serendipity," Trimble explains. The tight field, she says, "makes it very unlikely that you'll find something really neat accidentally."

"THE HUBBLE SPACE TELESCOPE IS ONLY POINTED AT PLACES WHERE PEOPLE ALREADY KNOW WHAT THEY'LL FIND," BURBIDGE COMPLAINS.

Everyone might agree that serendipity is no longer much of a factor in astronomical research. The question is whether, in tailoring their telescope proposals for peer-pleasing efficiency, astronomers are missing out on valuable knowledge. On the one hand, Stephen Strom, a government-employed astronomer, says that there have been a number of long-term survey projects, eventually successful, that would have had a hard time surviving the peer-review process. A University of California–led search for planets outside our own solar system, he points out, went on fruitlessly for more than a decade before the burst of extra-solar-system planet spottings in recent years.

On the other hand, Trimble contends that we're not in danger of missing much. Science, through constant observation and testing of theories, will eventually notice what's out there, she says. "If one astronomer is kept from looking somewhere," she says, "sooner or later someone will look in the same corner. In the long run, you never find things that wouldn't eventually be found."

That much faith in the march of progress may strike some observers as extreme. Certainly, the scientific establishment has been known to ignore a useful hypothesis or two in the past. Burbidge likes to invoke the name of Alfred Wegener, who spent his short life on the fringes of geology because he clung to the then-heterodox theory that the continents had drifted around on the surface of the globe. But, as Trimble points out, Wegener's critics may have had a point. Geologists, she says, rejected continental drift because, although the continents looked as if they had moved apart from one another, Wegener could come up with no mechanism that would have allowed the drift to happen. Only later, when mainstream geologists discovered convection currents in Earth's mantle, and evidence of seafloor spreading, did continental drift emerge as a tenable theory.

"People don't seem smart enough to second-guess nature very often," Maran says, a bit regretfully. On average, he says, those safe, unadventurous telescope proposals make for very productive science. "How many revolutions we miss that way, I have no idea," he adds.

By way of an answer, he offers an ambiguous parable: the story of Percival Lowell. A wealthy amateur astronomer (and the brother of the poet Amy Lowell), Lowell had calculated that there was a ninth planet in the solar system that was disturbing the orbit of Uranus. He died without finding it. But in 1930, Clyde Tombaugh, working at the private observatory Lowell had endowed, discovered Pluto just where the late astronomer had predicted it would be. If Lowell hadn't owned his own observatory, the observing time would not have been allocated to Tombaugh, and the discovery might not have been made. The only problem, Maran continues, is that Lowell's calculations turned out to be wrong. "The mass of Pluto is trivial," he explains. "It couldn't possibly have had these effects on Uranus's orbit."

An allocation committee would have been right to reject Tombaugh's proposals. Still, Maran concedes readily, "we would have missed this great discovery."

Tom Scocca is a staff writer for the Baltimore *City Paper*. His work has previously appeared in *Transition*, the *Boston Globe*, and the *Boston Phoenix*, as well as *LF*.

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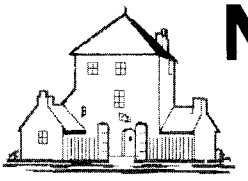

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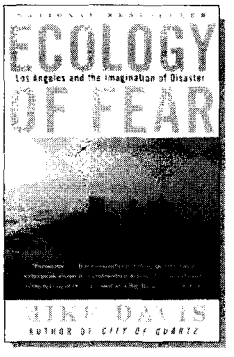

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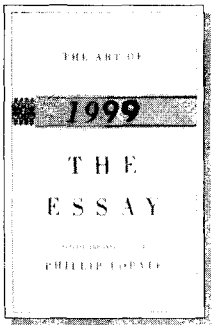

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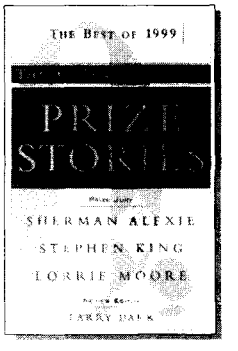

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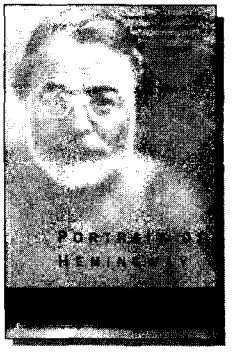

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WHO OWNS ARTHUR KOESTLER?

A BIOGRAPHERS' ROW

BY **MATTHEW PRICE**

LAST FALL, WHEN DAVID CESARANI PUBLISHED A BOOK DESCRIBING the anticommunist writer Arthur Koestler as a serial rapist, he expected a strong public reaction. He did not expect to find himself accused of committing serious violations of his own or to see his reputation mired in scandal. But that is exactly what happened.

In the months after excerpts from Cesarani's book *Arthur Koestler: The Homeless Mind* (Heinemann, 1998) appeared in the London *Daily Telegraph* last October, British intellectuals debated his claim that the thrice-married Koestler was not only something of a cad (already widely believed) but also a serial rapist (a shocking new allegation). Responses to Cesarani's book were mixed. Some readers dismissed it as a "tabloid debunking job" trafficking in rumor and innuendo. Others derided Cesarani's preoccupation with Koestler's character as misplaced. "What matters is the work produced," harrumphed one critic. "Great artists don't have to be nice. Very often they were, and are, cussed, selfish, and hell to live with." But others were readily persuaded by Cesarani's portrait of Koestler as a brutish rake. "One can muster neither respect nor admiration nor even interest" in Koestler after reading the book, wrote one disgusted reviewer. At the University of Edinburgh, where the writer's papers are housed, anti-Koestler sentiment grew so fierce that administrators were obliged to remove a bronze bust of the author from campus. (One student complained of "feeling uneasy under its gaze.")

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Then, in April, Michael Scammell, a professor in the writing division at Columbia University whose authorized biography of Koestler is due out in 2001, dropped a bombshell in the pages of *The Times Literary Supplement (TLS)*: Not only were Cesarani's rape charges factually weak but Cesarani himself was guilty of academic fraud. In a blistering nine-hundred-word letter to *TLS*'s editors, Scammell complained that Cesarani had displayed "flagrant disregard of the conditions on which he was permitted access to the Koestler archive." He enumerated Cesarani's alleged infractions: (1) misrepresenting his project as a study of "Koestler's Jewish identity" rather than as a general biography; (2) violating Scammell's agreement with the Koestler archive at the University of Edinburgh library, which he believed gave him exclusive rights to the archive's entire contents; (3) grossly misrepresenting Koestler's relationships with women; and (4) using flimsy evidence to convict Koestler of rape.

Infused with fresh intrigue and nastiness, the debate over *The Homeless Mind* continued to flourish, now invading the usually genteel precincts of biography and scholarship. The ethics of the scribe as well as those of his subject were suddenly in question. "The incident is weirder than anything from the world of the paranormal—one of Koestler's obsessions," noted an observer in the pages of the London *Guardian,* delighting in the spectacle of two biographers "at each other's throats in a row about restrictions on the use of the Koestler archive."

The accusations will doubtless begin to fly all over again when Cesarani's book appears in this country in December. Here, too, opinion is likely to be divided as to whether Cesarani proves that Koestler was a rapist—and what it would mean if he were. Meanwhile, the allegations of scholarly misconduct raise provocative questions of another sort: Did Cesarani misrepresent the nature of his project and thus violate the trust of the Koestler estate? What professional and ethical obligations does a writer have to those who control access to his subject's work?

WHEN Arthur Koestler died in a double-suicide pact with his much younger, and physically healthy, wife in 1983, he was an ailing and respected, if somewhat forgotten, journalist and author of numerous books on politics, culture, science, and philosophy. A Hungarian Jew, and for six years a member of the German Communist Party, Koestler made his name in 1940 with his novel *Darkness at Noon,* among the first widely read indictments of Stalinist Russia. (The book's cultural presence is still considerable: It was recently voted the eighth-best novel of the century by a Modern Library panel, and, according to the Starr report, Bill Clinton once compared himself to a victim of the Soviet police in Koestler's novel.) From the 1940s on, Koestler dedicated himself to attacking communism in all its manifestations, denouncing the Soviet Union and Western fellow travelers alike in hundreds of essays. In his later years, to the surprise of many of his intellectual friends, he turned his attention to science and, more controversially, to research into the paranormal.

Koestler's will stipulated that his papers be left to a British university on the condition that it establish a chair in parapsychology.

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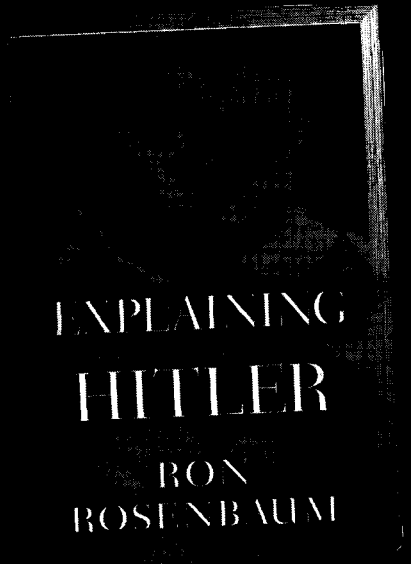

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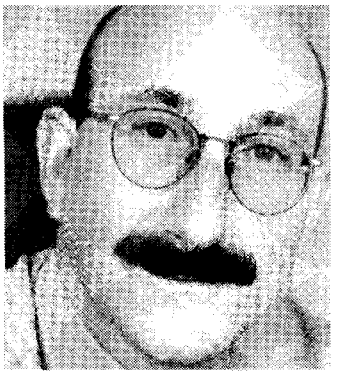
At the behest of a psychology professor who had been a friend of Koestler's, the University of Edinburgh agreed to the arrangement, and, accordingly, its library acquired Koestler's papers in 1984. The following year, Koestler's literary executor and former editor, Harold Harris, asked Scammell to write Koestler's biography. Scammell accepted on the understanding, he says, that the estate authorize no other biographical projects about Koestler—though he never signed a written agreement to that effect. Then in 1993, Cesarani, a professor of modern Jewish history and culture at Southampton University and the author of a noted study of a leading British Jewish newspaper, applied to the library for access to the writer's papers. On his signed application form, Cesarani described his project as a study of "Koestler's Jewish identity and themes in his life and work" and agreed to abide by the library's conditions that his research not be used for "the compilation of any biographical work about Arthur Koestler" and that he not quote from any of its unpublished materials without "prior written permission of the Literary Executor of the Estate...and the Librarian of the University of Edinburgh."



CESARANI'S BOOK INSPIRED STUDENTS TO TOPPLE KOESTLER'S BUST.

Alerted to Cesarani's research, Scammell contacted him in 1992, and the two began a brief, professional correspondence. In a January 1993 letter to Scammell, Cesarani wrote that he wanted to approach Koestler "as an example of the deracinated Jewish intellectuals who have made such an impact on the world of ideas in this century." He added, "I am more interested in the ideas than the minutia [*sic*] of the life." Reading the letter, Scammell thought the project sounded "perfectly fine."

What emerged five years later, however, reads much more like a general biography than a specialized study of one writer's Jewish identity. While Cesarani does examine Koestler's tortured relationship with his Jewishness—from the Zionism of his early twenties to his attempt in 1976 to trace the lineage of the Jews to the Khazar tribes of the Caucasus—his six-hundred-page book is essentially a cradle-to-grave account of the writer's life, beginning with Koestler's childhood in Budapest and pursuing in exhaustive detail his relationships with alcohol, friends, and, in particular, women. Indeed, when *The Daily Telegraph* serialized the book, the three excerpts it published all featured Koestler's sexual peccadilloes under shamelessly sensational headlines: THE RAPE OF JILL CRAIGIE; ABORTION AND ELIZABETH JANE HOWARD; and KOESTLER'S NIGHT WITH SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR. (Cesarani later described the paper's advertising campaign for the excerpts as a "billboard for a Harold Robbins novel.") Moreover, Cesarani's American publisher, the Free Press, makes no mention of Koestler's Judaism in its advance publicity copy, promoting the book as "the most complete—and the most controversial—biography of this intellectual titan of the twentieth century."

In his preface, Cesarani all but acknowledges the shift in his attention. *"The Homeless Mind,"* he wrote, "grew out of an idea for a study of Arthur Koestler as a Jew who exemplified the Jewish experience during the twentieth century. However, Koestler's life and interests could not be restricted to his Jewishness, no matter how central that may have been to his existence, consciously or otherwise. Conversely his Jewishness could not be seen in isolation from the rest of his career. So an investigation into Koestler as Jew broadened into an account of Koestler the man and his achievements as a whole." It's almost as if Cesarani anticipated Scammell's accusations of dirty dealing and was trying desperately to defend himself against them.

From the beginning, reviewers treated the book like a biography—the first to appear since Koestler's death—focusing on the facts of Koestler's life, and, in particular, his sex life, rather than his writing or his Jewishness. Cesarani claims he was horrified by the way his book became a referendum on the question of Koestler's sexual behavior. Nevertheless, he says now, "on one level, I was pleased; for a six-hundred-page study of a Jewish intellectual to get that much attention is fantastic." No doubt his publisher was thrilled as well: The book quickly sold out its first print run. Cesarani, though, was concerned enough about the effect of the Koestler sex scandal on his own reputation to write an indignant article in his defense for the *Times Higher Education Supplement*. He was no crude purveyor of bio-porn, he declared. The *Telegraph* was to blame for that: "I do not want to become the Newt Gingrich of publishing because a newspaper exploited a serious study of a major intellectual figure of our time in order to sell copies by scandalising its readers."

Cesarani complains he's been misunderstood, and wants to return discussions of his book to its central idea: Koestler's tortured Judaism. But in doing so, he is forced to justify his interest in Koestler's wandering libido along the same lines. What, critics want to know, does Koestler's allegedly violent philandering have to do with his Judaism? *The Homeless Mind* is vague on this point, but today Cesarani is emphatic. Invoking Philip Roth, he says Koestler's womanizing was "par for the course, absolutely standard operating practice; his last two wives were non-Jewish blondes." Koestler, Cesarani explains, "wanted to gain acceptance with the British Establishment, he wanted to prove himself with these women, he wanted to conquer them," and thereby join the upper echelons of the British intelligentsia.

Koestler's behavior, Cesarani argues, was the result of the deep psychological wounds he suffered from the anti-Semitism he routinely encountered. "I've desperately tried to steer the debate back to where I think it should be, which is essentially an indictment of European society," he insists. "The book says if you treat people badly, if you despise their culture, if you persecute them, you are going to end up with some very unhappy people; and one of the ways this can be expressed in the case of an intellectual is through the extreme views and behavior of someone like Koestler."

MICHAEL SCAMMELL is an established figure in the literary world. His 1984 biography of Alexsandr

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Solzhenitsyn was well received; he is a contributor to *The New York Review of Books;* and since 1997, he has served as the president of PEN American Center, the writers' organization. Counseled by friends to let the Koestler sex scandal play itself out, Scammell initially remained silent when Cesarani's book appeared. He also refrained from reading the book in its entirety, to avoid, he says, "unconsciously reproducing things that are there" in his own work in progress. But watching *The Homeless Mind* be reviewed again and again as a biography, Scammell became convinced that its appearance violated the oral agreement he had with Koestler's literary executor and the library.

In February, he decided to act. He wrote to Murray Simpson, the librarian in charge of the Koestler archive. "Cesarani (with your witting or unwitting assistance) has caused me irreparable harm," he wrote. "He has thoroughly vacuumed the archive down to the minutest detail and broadcast the results for all to see. Because he is so thorough, he has deprived me of every last shred of new material, and therefore of the benefit of novelty which is of inestimable value to the biographer." Scammell felt he had been preempted. Sales of his own book would suffer thanks to Cesarani, he complained. But Scammell also believed that Cesarani had acted in bad faith and demanded that the university publicly acknowledge this fact. "What do baby pictures and pictures of Koestler's parents on holiday, or of Koestler in Pioneer Corps uniform, have to do with Zionism?" he wrote bitterly.

Simpson replied the following month, confirming that Cesarani had failed to get permission from the library to quote from unpublished material. Most importantly, Simpson agreed with Scammell about Cesarani's change of approach, alluding to his admission in the preface to *The Homeless Mind*. Cesarani's "failure to admit this earlier in the year is grossly disingenuous," Simpson wrote. He assured Scammell that Robert Morris, who had become the literary executor of Koestler's estate following Harold Harris's death in 1993, would write to Cesarani and the *TLS* to "complain of Cesarani's conduct." (At press time, no such letter had materialized.)

After waiting a month for Morris to set the matter straight, Scammell fired off his own letter to the *TLS* in April, making his accusation of academic fraud public for the first time: "It is not, I submit, ethical to behave in this manner towards colleagues (or rivals, if that is how they are perceived) and the custodians of literary archives, especially if you are going to claim the moral high ground, as Cesarani does, to mount a comprehensive attack on your subject's life and personality." The following week, Cesarani's rebuttal appeared. Scammell's charges were "seriously misleading and incorrect in several respects," he wrote. Cesarani pointed out that he had sought and obtained copyright permissions from Robert Morris and from Peters, Fraser & Dunlop, the literary agency that owns the copyright for Koestler's work. (Cesarani now admits he made a mistake in not consulting the Koestler archive, thinking it was sufficient to have obtained permission from Morris and the agency.)

As for Cesarani's rape allegations, Scammell says the evidence is sorely wanting. Indeed, Cesarani's book cites only a single interview—with Jill Craigie, the wife of

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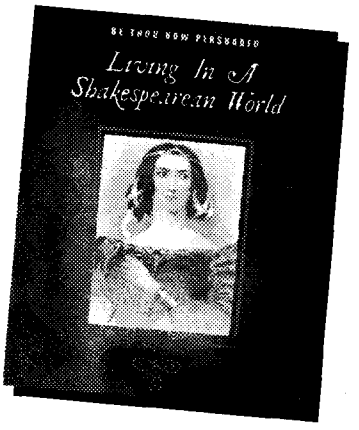

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SCAMMELL BELIEVES THAT CESARANI ACTED IN BAD FAITH AND DEMANDS A PUBLIC VINDICATION.

British Labor M.P. Michael Foot, who says she was raped by Koestler in the early 1950s. For several years after the incident with Craigie, Cesarani wrote, rape "would be almost a hallmark of [Koestler's] conduct." But aside from speculating about an ambiguously worded letter from one of Koestler's lovers Cesarani adduces no evidence to buttress that claim. "I don't think she [Craigie] was making it up," says Scammell. "I just think the actual details may have been a little less lurid than described." Moreover, Scammell reports he has interviewed some two dozen women who had intimate relations with Koestler—most of whom Cesarani did not contact—and believes that Koestler's conduct with the opposite sex was more complicated than Cesarani's one-note depiction suggests. "It is obvious that Koestler's relationships with women were often difficult and sometimes abrasive," he says, "but they were just as often exhilarating and deeply rewarding." Scammell also wonders why Cesarani did not avail himself of letters to Koestler from women "saying they loved him and how wonderful he was."

So who is right? Surely there must be room for two biographies—and competing views—of Koestler. Some have said that Scammell's claim to an exclusive stamp on the writer's archive amounts to a kind of censorship. And Cesarani may have a point when he accuses Scammell of being motivated in part by jealousy: "I can understand why Professor Scammell feels unhappy about the appearance of my study of Koestler, since he has been at work on an authorized biography for some fifteen years."

But Scammell responds that he has typically been generous in allowing scholars access. "The archive was never off-limits to anybody; it was a gentleman's agreement, and it was not a gentleman who broke it," he says.

The two men are unlikely to resolve their differences. Observers of the debate, on the other hand, might find something to agree with in the words of Ian Hamilton, a biographer who, famously, has had his own troubles with subjects and sources. Reflecting on the trade of literary biography, Hamilton once asked, "Is it all to do with human nature, a matter of competing vanities and envies, deadlocked special interests, cash?"

Matthew Price is *LF*'s editorial researcher.

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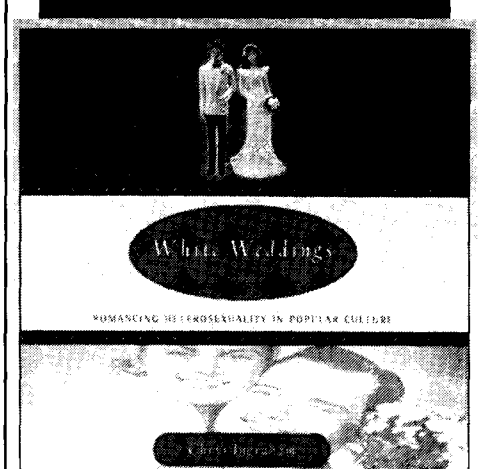

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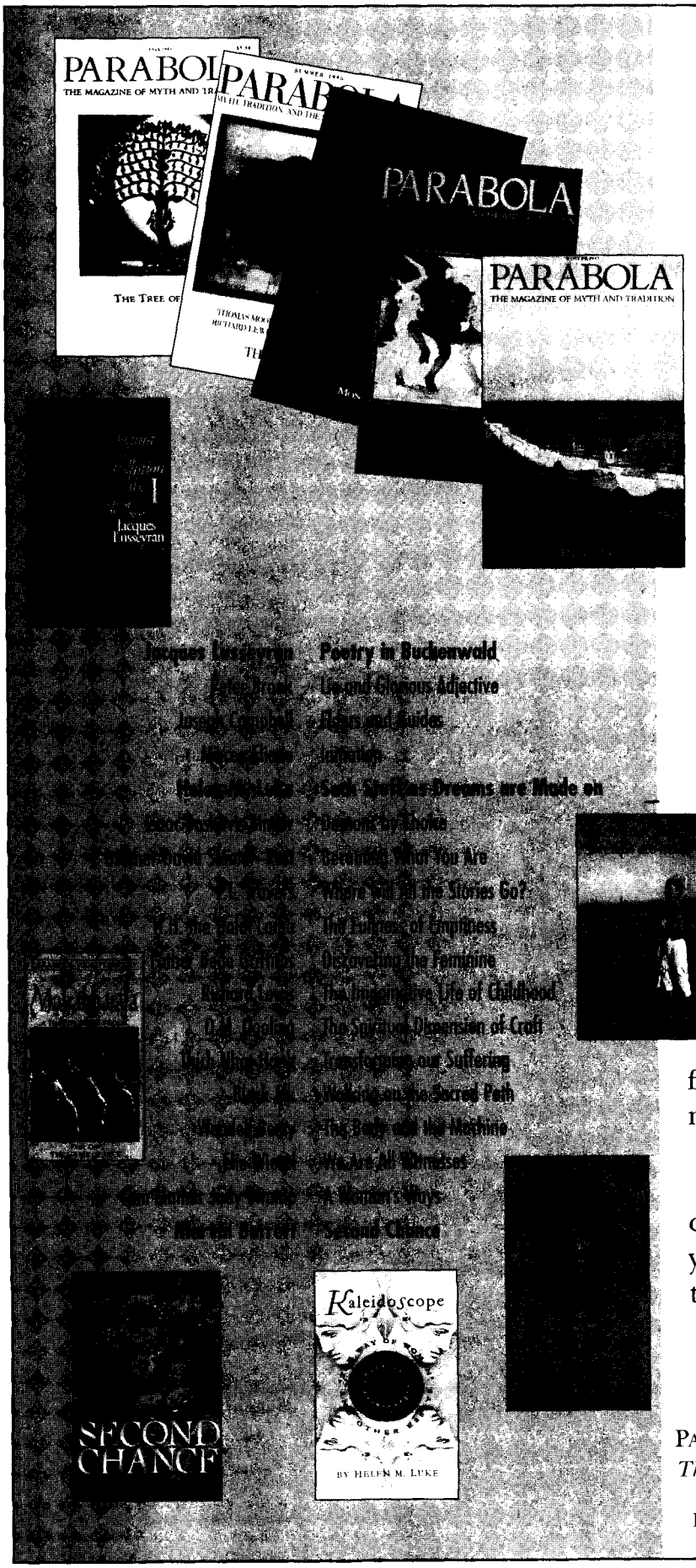

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continued from page 5

one thing, they don't know which one to give up, since they have good grounds for each.

But there is another reason. The situation is more complex than it seems. There are not just two beliefs in question, *p* and *q*, but three—*p* and *q* and *r*, the newly induced belief that *p* and *q* contradict each other. It would be as logical to give up *r* as to give up either *p* or *q*. Perhaps *p* and *q* only appear to contradict each other. They may be well-founded beliefs, whereas the argument for *r* may merely be clever; *p* and *q* might well be more probably true than the claim that they contradict each other.

Given human fallibility, it is reasonable for people to consider the possibility that an apparently conclusive proof may rest on a mistake. People who stubbornly cling to contradictions may be more logical than their critics.

JERRY L. MARTIN
Alexandria, VA

REICH VS. REICH

Benjamin Harris's letter in the May/June issue rejects Hal Cohen's contention that Wilhelm Reich was "tossed out of the International Psychoanalytic Association for being a communist" ["A Secret History of the Sexual Revolution," March]. According to Harris, Reich's offenses were that he founded a journal, championed socialism, and argued that right-wing analysts accommodated fascism. In other words, that Reich was a communist was not the problem—the problem was that he acted on it.

The expulsion cannot be understood without considering Reich's relation to the threat that the Nazis posed to the analytic movement in Germany and Austria. In April 1933, Nazis barred Jews from the leadership of medical organizations. The Berlin Analytic Society was 80 percent Jewish. Its Jewish leaders visited Freud in Vienna seeking his approval of their resignation. Freud went along (as he later went along with the expulsion of the groups' Jewish membership) even though he warned that these measures would not save the society. He made only two requests: Shultz-Hencke, a revisionist analyst, should not be part of the new leadership; and "Free me from [Wilhelm] Reich."

Contra Harris, Reich was not expelled "for being a provocateur and factionalist" in general. He was expelled because he called for resistance against the Nazis in 1933–1934, whereas analysts sought accommodation. Whether or not Reich's precise tactics were correct, on *that* basic conflict with Freud and the Freudians, he was certainly right.

ELI ZARETSKY
Professor of History
New School University

CORRECTIONS

Due to an editing error, it was reported in "Leiter Fluid" [Field Notes, July/August] that MIT Press and Oxford's Clarendon imprint have published work by Continental philosophers. The article should have stated instead that both presses have published books by analytic philosophers who teach in predominantly Continental departments.

The URL for Peter Suber's philosophical Web site ["The Tech 20," July/August] is: www.earlham.edu/~peters/philinks.htm

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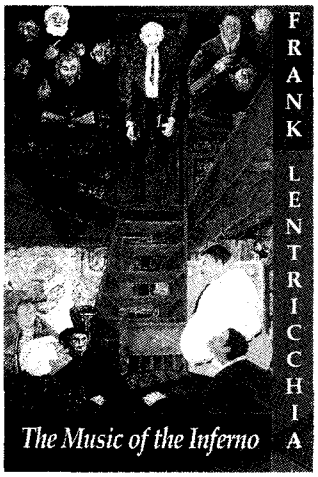

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HIGHER SUPERSTITIONS

THE CASE FOR ASTROLOGY

THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM in the philosophy of science might be called the demarcation problem: What is it that distinguishes science from nonscience or pseudoscience? What, for example, makes evolutionary theory scientific and creationism pseudoscientific?

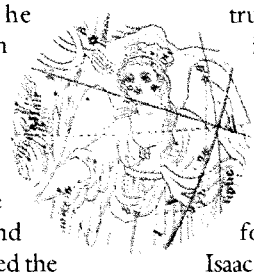
Philosophers of science have taken three broad approaches to this problem. One approach is to look for some criterion that demarcates science from pseudoscience—like Karl Popper's criterion of falsifiability, which says that a theory is scientific if it is open to experimental refutation. Let's call this approach *methodological positivism.*

A second approach is to argue that science is demarcated from pseudoscience not by its methodology but by a sociological criterion: the judgment of the "scientific community." This view, associated with figures like Thomas Kuhn, Michael Polanyi, and Robert K. Merton, might be called *elitist authoritarianism.*

Finally, one might deny the very possibility of demarcation, arguing that there is no rationale that privileges scientific over nonscientific beliefs. This view is often called *epistemological anarchism.*

The most impish of the epistemological anarchists was Paul Feyerabend (1924–1994), whose methodological motto was "anything goes." His good friend Imre Lakatos (1922–1974) took an opposing view—a blend, as he saw it, of Popper and Kuhn. Instead of asking whether a single theory was scientific or unscientific, Lakatos examined entire research programs, classifying them as "progressive" or "degenerating." He used the contrast to show how scientific consensus could be rational, not just a matter of mob psychology.

Feyerabend found this unpersuasive. "Neither Lakatos nor anybody else has shown that science is better than witchcraft and that science proceeds in a rational way," he wrote in "Theses on Anarchism." But Lakatos never gave up trying to convince his friend that his views were wrongheaded—and Feyerabend returned the favor. Their correspondence from 1968 to 1974 (when Lakatos died of a heart attack) has just been published as *For and Against Method* (Chicago), edited by Matteo Motterlini.



The letters have their share of ribaldry. "I am *very* tired because my liver is acting up which is a pity, for my desire to lay the broads here (and there are some fine specimens walking around on campus) is considerably reduced," Feyerabend wrote from Berkeley. The friendly affection between the two philosophical antagonists is much in evidence. Lakatos, writing from the London School of Economics, often signed his letters "Love, Imre."

Philosophically, however, there is no detectable convergence of their positions over the six years of correspondence. That is not surprising, really, given how vexed the demarcation issue is. Take a seemingly easy case: astrology. We all think astrology is a pseudoscience (*pace* Feyeraband), but it is not easy to say why. The usual arguments are (1) astrology grew out of a magical worldview; (2) the planets are too far away for there to be any physical mechanism for their alleged influence on human character and fate; and (3) people believe in astrology only out of a desire for comforting explanations.

But the first argument is also true of chemistry, medicine, and cosmology. Nor is the second decisive, for there have been many scientific theories that have lacked physical foundations. When Isaac Newton proposed his theory of gravitation, for example, he could furnish no mechanism to account for how gravity's mysterious "action at a distance" was possible. As for the third argument, people often believe in good theories for illegitimate reasons.

Surely, though, astrology fails Popper's criterion of falsifiability? This seems a promising line of argument, since horoscopes yield only vague tendencies, not sharp predictions.

Yet such tendencies, if they exist, ought to show up as statistical correlations for large populations. Indeed, attempts have been made to detect such correlations—notably in the 1960s by Michel Gauquelin, who surveyed the times of birth and subsequent careers of twenty-five thousand Frenchmen. Gauquelin found no significant relationship between careers and zodiac signs, which are determined by the position of the sun at the time of birth. But he did turn up associations between certain occupations of people and the positions of certain *planets* at the time of their birth. For instance, in accordance with the predictions of astrology, individuals born when Mars was at its zenith were more likely to become athletes, and those born when Saturn was rising were more likely to become scientists.

But if the scientific status of astrology cannot be impugned on Popperian grounds, perhaps it can be on Lakatosian ones. Some years after Lakatos's death, the philosopher Paul R. Thagard made a detailed case for astrology being a "dramatically unprogressive" research program, and hence pseudoscientific. Astrology has not added to its explanatory power since the time of Ptolemy, Thagard pointed out. It is riddled with anomalies, which the community of astrologers shows scant interest in clearing up. And it has been overtaken by alternative theories of personality and behavior, like Freudian psychology and genetics. (Not that the latter two aren't also vulnerable to the charge of being pseudoscientific.)

Lakatos himself clearly thought astrology was pseudoscience—as was much else. "The social sciences are on par with astrology, it is no use beating around the bush," he wrote to Feyerabend. ("Funny that I should be teaching at the London School of Economics!" he added.)

As for Feyerabend, the only definition of science he was finally prepared to tolerate was "what follows from a principle of *general hedonism.*" And what about the truth? *"The truth,* whatever it is, *be damned.* What we need is *laughter."*

JIM HOLT

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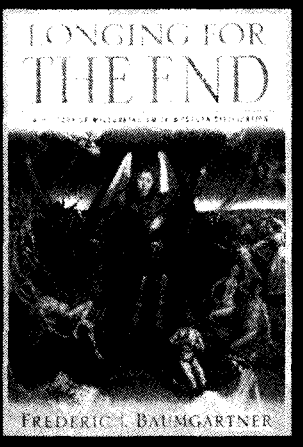

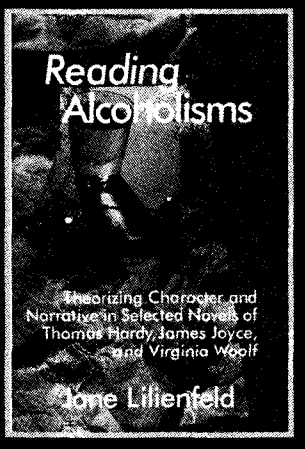
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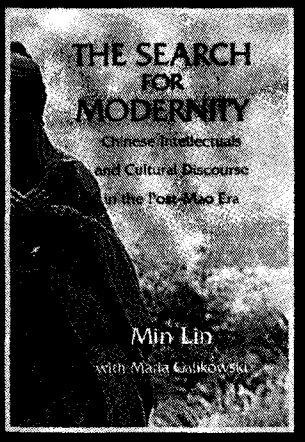

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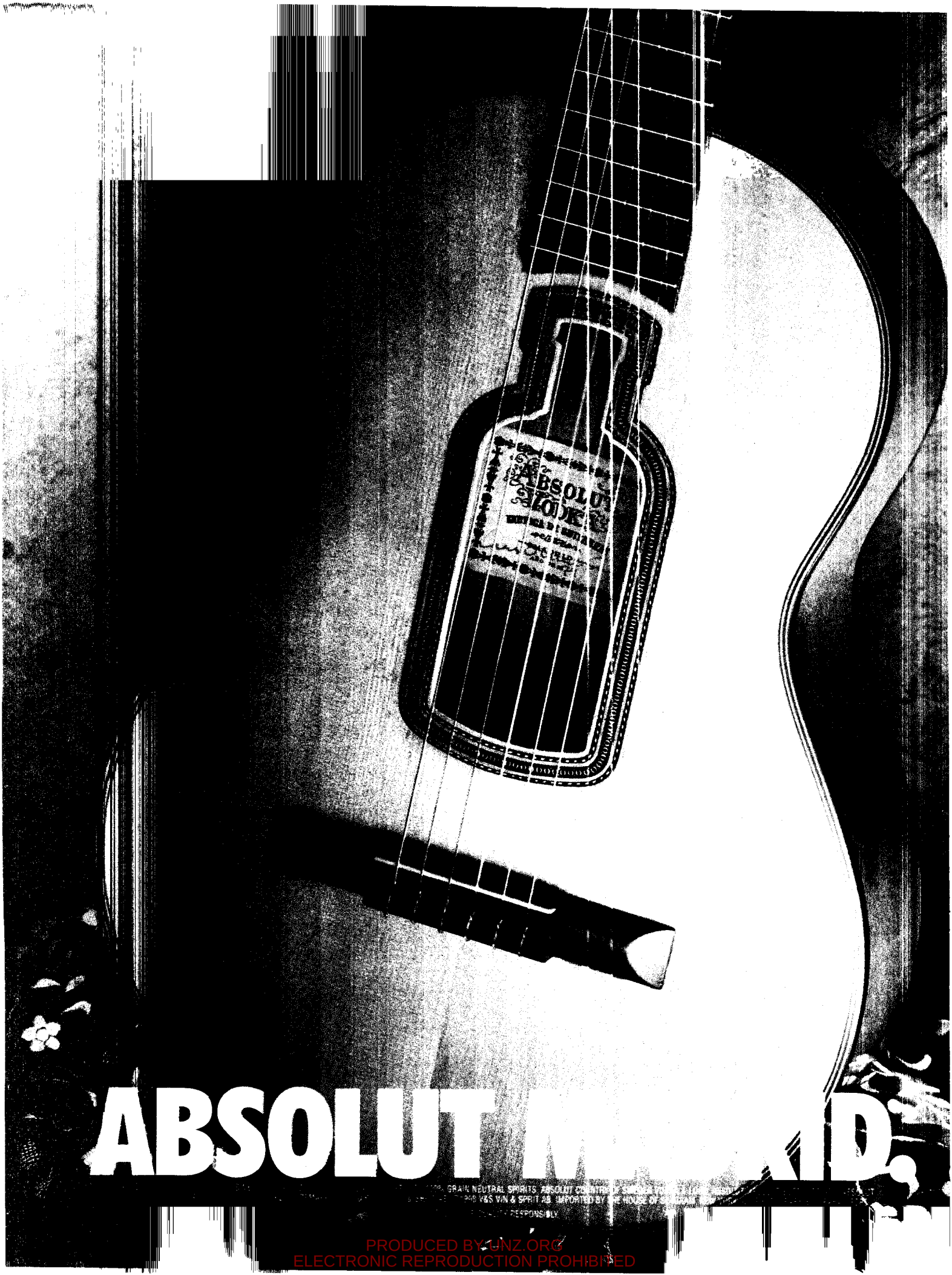

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